JPRS 78569

22 July 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1901

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SUPREME COURT ORDER ON PENAL ACTS AGAINST ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 1, Jan-Mar 81 pp 91-94

[Supreme Court Order "On Penal Acts Against Administrative System" passages between slant lines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Order of the Plenum of the Supreme Court No 4, dated 16 December 1980, "On Penal Acts Against Administrative System"/

The Plenum of the Supreme Court, at its meeting on 16 December 1980, after examining the report presented by the Penal Collegium of the Supreme Court implementing the decisions by the courts concerning penal acts against the administrative system, foreseen by articles 118, 119, 120 and 206 of the Penal Code, has observed:

The above mentioned penal acts are directed, first of all, against important social relationships insuring the normal activity of our government, social and economic organs and against their authority and, secondly, against the relationships insuring the interests and rights of the representative of the state and of other persons who carry out various state and social tasks and production. Therefore, as one can see, our state, through the above mentioned penal norms, takes under special protection the representative of the state and other workers during the time when these persons are carrying out their state, social and production tasks, the aim is to guarantee to them suitable conditions to enable normal exercise of the functions assigned to them by law.

The protection of the political, governmental and social activity of the organs and organizations in our socialist state, so that they will normally exercise their work for protecting the system and legal interests of the citizens, is one of the important tasks of our penal legislation.

Starting from this, the degree of the social danger of these penal acts becomes clearer. Therefore, given the importance of the consequences district court judgments, have, in general, implemented a correct policy of punishment; they have tried to discover their causes and, at the same time, have raised problems of a political and social nature for the party and government organs.

Nevertheless, in jurisprudence, mistakes and shortcomings have been observed in executing penal provisos dealing with these acts. These mistakes concern the

understanding and danger of the consequences to the component elements of their juridical forms, to distinguishing one from the other the competition between them. Thus, for example, there is no continuous struggle against the concepts and indifference of the particular persons. The courts, although they observe such manifestations in juridical lawsuits, do not always raise them and make them the problems facing the working collectives. Also, there is not a correct concept about violence carried out against the representative of the state or against the person, because of duty, and about the stages of development of these penal acts, the understanding of repetition, the content of the penal act stipulated by Article 204 of the Penal Code, the forms of penal acts covered by Article 120 of the Penal Code and, especially, about the understanding of insult carried out publicly and so forth.

Aiming at unifying the juridical practice and at eliminating such mistakes and shortcomings as above mentioned, the Plenum of the Supreme Court, on the basis of Article 14 of the law "on the Juridical Organization of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania," has decided to emit the following order:

1. The penal act stipulated by articles 118, 119, 120, 204, 205 and 206 of the Penal Code treat important social relationships. They are directed, first of all, against the regular activity of the state administration and against the state representative and other workers that carry out tasks, according to the jurisdictions entrusted by law. They also relate to the interests and rights of the state representative and the worker who perform state and social duties and duties in production.

2. The state representatives, according to articles 118 and 204 of the Penal Code, constitute a determined category of workers; because of the nature of the state activity which they perform, they enjoy special protection by law. This category includes: deputies, members of the people's councils, judges and auxiliary judges, prosecutors, investigators, the personnel of the police force, the operational workers of the Internal People's Defense [Albanian: MP Brendshme] and officers in charge of court decisions.

3. The circle of persons who are protected by the provisions foreseen by articles 119, 120, 205 and 206 of the Penal Code are all workers who carry out party, state and social activities or production activities and, because of this fact, physical violence or insult is used against them it prevents them from carrying out their functions and tasks.

4. The state representatives and other workers who perform state, social or production duties enjoy special protection on the basis of the provisions already mentioned only during the time during the performance of their dutues, based on the law and for the implementation of the law and of the norms of the socialist morality.

The state representatives or persons who perform state and social production duties do not enjoy this protection if the penal act against them has been executed as a result of their own criminal activities.

The provocative attitudes of the state representatives or of other persons, must be considered by the courts as attenuating circumstances in favor of the defendants on the basis of the point "a" of Article 30 of the Penal Code.

5. The perpetrator of a penal act, who opposes the state representative by using violence against him or by insulting him, while not performing his duty, nevertheless, because of his duties will answer not on the basis of Article 118 of the Penal Code but, precisely, on the basis of Article 119, 120 and 206 of this code, because, in order to have a penal act stipulated in Article 118 of the Penal Code, it is necessary for the violence used to aim at preventing or to prevent the state representative from performing his duty.

However, when the person of the penal act hits or insults the state representative or any other worker for personal reasons, this act will be qualified as battery or as simple assault, whether or not this happens during the performance of the state representative's or the other worker is performing duties.

6. Article 118 of the Penal Code contains two types of crimes: resistance with physical violence to the state representative and passive resistance to the state representative carried out.

7. With acts of violence according to Article 118 and 119 of the Penal Code, one mustunderstand every type of physical violence against the state representative or the person who is performing a state and social duty or a duty in production, action which aims at preventing or prevents him from performing these duties, or action caused because of these duties. Physical violence comprises pushing, battery, light wounding and prevention of liberty.

8. The acts of violence, which involve the crime of serious wounding or the crime of murder, will be specified by provisions foreseen in these penal acts and not as apposition to the representative of the state or as attacking the person because of duty.

9. With cooperation, on the basis of this provision, we understand when two or more persons concur to prevent or aim at preventing a state representative from performing his legal duty.

10. The attempt to use physical violence must be defined, according to the case, as a penal act covered by article 118 and 119 of the Penal Code, that it has remained an attempt, and not an assault.

11. With opposition, on the basis of Article 204 of the Penal Code, we understand the active execution of activities without violence against the state representative so as to prevent him from performing his duty.

Defiance to an order by the state representative does not constitute a penal act.

12. The penal act of insulting a state representative or a person because of his state and social activity or of his activity in production is qualified on the basis of Article 206 of the Penal Code.

However, if this act is carried out publicly to the detriment of some persons or more than once, it will be qualified on the basis of Article 120 of the Penal Code.

a) /With the word "publicly,"/ one must understand the execution of this act in the presence of many persons, in other public places and establishments, accompanied by the desire of the perpetrator of the act to publicly discredit the state representative or the other person because of duty.

b) /To the "detriment of some persons,"/ one must understand the execution of the act carried out at the same time against two or more persons.

c) /With "more than one time,"/ one must understand that the act is executed with repetition, that is, when the perpetrator of this penal act has committed the same act before, (that is, the insult covered by Articles 206 or 120 of the Penal Code), regardless whether he has been punished or not. This act will not be called as being executed with repetition if its perpetrator has carried out a simple offense before covered under Article 185 of the Penal Code. Also, this act will not be called as being executed with repetition even when the perpetrator of the penal act has offended a person several times consecutively within a short interval of time.

13. Slanders against the state representative or the person, because of his government and social activity or because of his activity in production, constitute penal acts of defamation covered by Article 186 of the Penal Code.

14. Articles 118 and 119 of the Penal Code do not stipulate repetition as a component element of the type of these penal acts. In these cases, when the perpetrator of the penal act executes these acts to the detriment of some state representatives when they are performing their duties according to the law, or of other workers, because of their state and social activity or activity in production, then, their act will be defined by these provisions as many times as the number of persons damaged.

However, when the perpetrator of the act executes these penal acts against the same person many consecutive times and within short intervals of time, his act, just as in the case of insults, will be defined only once on the basis of the above mentioned relevant provisions.

15. The penal acts covered by Articles 118, 119, 120, 204, 205, and 206 of the Penal Code compete both with each other and with other penal acts.

16. The distinction of penal acts of opposition with violence to the state representative and of assault because of duty, covered by articles 118 and 119 of the Penal Code, from the crime of robbery, lies in the fact that robbery involving violence is connected with taking socialist property or of the property of others.

In order to have a crime of robbery, the violence used against the victim must be closely linked with the intent to take this property.

While, in the penal acts covered by Articles 118 and 119 of the Penal Code the offender uses violence not for stealing property, but for other reasons, like for escaping from penal prosecutions so as not to be humiliated, and for caprice, swaggering, megalomania and other manifestations of this nature.

17. Order No 6, dated 20 December 1957, "On Battery and Other Acts of Violence Committed Against a Person in Connection with His Official and Social Activity or with His Activity in Production," is abrogated.

9150
CSO: 2100/82

SUPREME COURT ORDER ON JUDGMENT OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 1, Jan-Mar 81 pp 88-90

[Order of the Plenum of the Supreme Court No 1, Dated 3 June 1980 "On the Judgment of Juvenile Offenders"]

[Text] Despite the successes achieved in the education of our new generation, successes constituting the main characteristic of our heroic youth, the fact that some youths commit various criminal acts must cause us anxiety about a more intensive and preventive educational work. From studies carried out on criminality among youths and from the court records, some shortcomings were observed, especially, in the field of investigation of the concrete reasons of each penal act and of the circumstances that have influenced some youths between the age of 14 and 18 to commit penal acts such as the family environment, the inadequate educational work of social organizations, some shortcomings in work organization by the state enterprises in regard to the education of elements who have foreign manifestations and the inconsistency of the persons executing penal punishment in appropriate work and so forth. One can still find shortcomings and gaps in the investigation of the personality characteristics of defendants, in the forms of the preventive struggle and in executing the popular line. Also, the requirements of the Penal Code on the determining of educational measures are not always correctly implemented, especially, Point 2 of Paragraph III of Article 28 of the Penal Code, and Article 29 concerning how punishments are determined and Article 34 of the Penal Code dealing with the immunity of youths from punishment, Paragraph II of Article 21 of the Penal Code, and of the requirements of the KPP and so forth.

In order to eliminate the shortcomings mentioned above, the Plenum of the Supreme Court, on the basis of Article 14 of the law "On Juridical Organization," has issued issued the following order:

1. The courts must investigate the concrete reasons of each penal act committed by youths between the age of 14-18 and investigate the circumstances which have influenced the execution of these act, such as: family environment, working conditions, social relationships, the forms of the preventive struggle used for educating youths who have foreign manifestations, the reasons all those who commit penal acts.

2. The cases dealing with penal acts executed by juvenile offenders must be judged by special judges; while, in judging these cases assistant judges should be, as a rule, educators and doctors, cadres of social organizations and other persons dealing with educational problems when such persons are available.

3. The interrogation of juvenile offenders under the age of 16 is carried out in the presence of an educator or of another person who can help to obtain correct answers (Article 22 of the KPP). With the training of other persons, it is understood that these persons should know well the adolescent psychology, such as various social science specialists for example, psychiatric doctors, cadres of the mass organizations or persons selected among the state organs.

When the court deems it necessary, it can interrogate in the presence of the persons mentioned in the above paragraph, even juvenile offenders who, although over the age of 16, have low intellectual abilities, or those who have no formal education when special knowledge is required for obtaining their answers.

4. As a rule, the cases of penal acts executed by juvenile offenders under 16 are judged behind closed doors (point three of Article 135 of the KPP); however, as an exception, the court can render judgment in open chambers when the case represents a social interest or when there is a possibility for the juvenile to be sent for reeducation to a working collective or social organization and also when his act is not such as to insult public decency or reveal any state secret and when there is a possibility for the juvenile offender to be exempted from punishment or given a conditional punishment.

In judging all socially minor cases of crimes committed by juveniles the court must, by all means, discuss the educational measures stipulated by Point Two of Paragraph III of Article 28 and by Article 43 of the Penal Code.

6. The court, in all cases dealing with juvenile offenders under the age of 14, after investigating the execution of the penal act, decides upon the educational measures it will issue on the basis of Article 28 of the Penal Code.

The issue is examined by respecting Point Two of Article 10 of the KPP.

Measures of an educational nature are adopted on the proposal of the organs of internal affairs and, mainly, by the court.

7. The decision taken by the court on educational measures must be conveyed in writing or verbally, according to the case, to the educational institution, the collective or the social organization, explaining the circumstances that forced the court to make this decision and explain the tasks facing them in regard to the reeducation of the juvenile offender.

The decision to place the juvenile offender in an educational institution is taken in special cases when it is proven that the juvenile offender of under 14 has taken part or had been implicated in crimes of great danger for the society--such as in murder, robbery, breaking and entering--or in the cases when all educational measures have been applied against him, but no result has been obtained and, also when more structured and specialized work is required for his reeducation.

8. The court has the right to exempt the juvenile offender of 14 to 18 years old from punishment, in the following cases:

--When, for justifiable motives, the juvenile offender was not in a position to fully understand that his act was socially dangerous. In regard to justifiable motives, one must understand those cases when the offender has low intellectual development or when he lacks the cultural and educational level required for comprehending both the acts he carried out and the circumstances under which they were carried out, and those cases when specific professional expertise is required.

--When he has carried out a penal act of minor importance in a state of psychic shock influenced another person or in the circumstances of the occasion. With minor offenses, one must understand when the degree of the social danger of this act is minor, for example, the theft of some sport articles with a small value, light wounding because of carelessness, beating and so forth. With psychic shock, one must understand, when the offender, because of outside provocations, looses control of his activities to a great extent and does not have the ability to fully understand the eventual consequences of the criminal act.

With an act carried out under the influence of another person, one must understand the case when the juvenile offender is under the age of 18 and has carried out the criminal act under the inducement of another person, who exerts influence on him. Thus, for example, a father obliges his 16 year old son to steal socialist property or a teacher who induces a pupil under 18 to commit a criminal act.

With circumstantial occasions, one must understand those circumstances which were not premeditated by the juvenile who had not the opportunity to anticipate them. Thus, for example, some students, while participating in physical training in the gymnasium hall noticed that the physics classroom had been left open. Right then and there, they decided to take some apparatuses for physics experiments.

9. It is appropriate that the courts in judging juvenile cases do this in the presence of representatives of the youth organization.

10. The court, in all instances in which it decides to exempt a juvenile from punishment, must, by all means, determine the specific collective or social organization for re-educating the juvenile offender.

11. In order to have the best results possible in the re-education process of the juvenile offender, judges should go to the selected collective or social organization to inform the organs in detail about the court decision and to explain to them their tasks in regard to the re-education of the juvenile who has been exempted from punishment.

9150
CSO: 2100/82

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN-SUDANESE FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY ESTABLISHED--Khartoum, 24 Jun (SUNA)--Dr Yusuf Bisharah, secretary general of the National Council for Friendship, Solidarity and Peace, met with the Bulgarian ambassador in Khartoum. They discussed developing bilateral relations and the program of celebrations for Bulgaria's National Day. The Bulgarian ambassador praised the strong relations between his country and the Sudan and the Sudan's firm and leading role under President Numayri in supporting world peace and opposing imperialism, racial discrimination and Zionism. The Bulgarian ambassador also announced the establishment of a Bulgarian-Sudanese friendship society in his country. [Text] [JN241056 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1240 GMT 24 Jun 81]

CSO: 4504/22

CARDINAL SPEAKS UP ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

On Shortage of Priests

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 9, 1 Mar 81 p 3

[Pastoral letter by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek: "On Priestly Mission"]

[Text] As believers you expect that Holy Masses will continue to be celebrated in your churches at usual hours. For that reason people in some parishes object that Holy Mass is not offered as frequently as before or that it is celebrated at an hour they consider unusual. They wonder why it is so. The reason is that the ranks of priests are being reduced by age, illness and death and the number of those who should replace them is insufficient. This situation is linked with other problems--Holy Masses are celebrated in some communities at unusual hours because the priest has to serve masses and thus, he must schedule them throughout the whole day on Sunday.

Let us ask what work are our priests doing. Most priests in our archdiocese of Prague are administering two, three and up to four parishes or in certain cases even more. On Sundays and holidays our priests celebrate as a rule three to five masses, usually parishes distant one from another and therefore, on those days the priest must drive scores of kilometers, in every weather, frequently, especially in winter-time, even at a risk of his health. It often happens that he comes to a church which is poorly attended, sometimes almost empty, and yet he is determined to keep it alive. So, in addition to his priestly duties, he frequently performs the tasks of the sexton, acolyte and bell ringer.

Last year I stood at open graves of 17 priests in our archdiocese of Prague. Some priests were literally stricken in their prime, their dedicated work on behalf of the believers having sapped their strength. I read the profoundly true words on obituaries of several of them: "I preached the Cross, I carried a cross, and I fell exhausted under the cross." - "Faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy lord."

And another question: "What work are our believers doing?" It is gratifying and encouraging if we have believers in our parishes who realize that their church is their common spiritual home. Therefore, they selflessly offer their hands and help not only to decorate their church but also to do maintenance and repair chores. We may say that the condition of the church is a reflection on the community where

the believers reside. It is gratifying and encouraging if the believers in our parishes realize that their priest is the spiritual Father of them all and for that reason, they try to stay close to him and according to the need and their possibilities, help him by taking over tasks they are able to fulfill so that he may devote himself to his specific priestly duties. Not only that: our faithful believers fold their hands in their daily prayer not only for themselves and their loved ones, living and dead, but also for their spiritual father, and beseech the Archpriest Jesus Christ that He help them fulfill his grand mission and add to the depleted ranks of our priests. Your prayers, believers, will achieve greater results if you enhance them with various daily sacrifices. You do not have to look for any special deeds; it is enough to attend to the duties your everyday life brings, particularly if they are difficult or painful to accept without complaining, in unity with Christ whose hands were stretched out on the Cross for us. In the same spirit fold and unfold your hands every day in unity with Christ.

I wish to appeal to you, my brothers, fellow priests: remain true to the office to which the successor of the Apostles--your bishop--has consecrated you.

I wish to appeal to you, our believers: stand close to your priest, your spiritual father! I wish to appeal to you, young people: those of you who deep down inside hear Christ's call, "Follow me!" -- follow Him in the way of the Apostles of whom we read that they abandoned everything and followed Him. Thus, you will accomplish a great feat and moreover, you will also become the happiest of men.

On Pope's Travels

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY No 16, Easter 81 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek: "In the Footsteps of Apostles Peter and Paul"]

[Text] Various individuals, including certain Catholics, have expressed their reservations about the travels of Pope John Paul II and even criticized him for his trips. They say that those journeys are an effort to "show off." However, John Paul II derives great joy from his contacts with people and utilizes his linguistic talent. The question is whether the Pope is interested in the "show" or in higher goals. First of all, let us answer the question what was the purpose of the journeys described in New Testament.

Journeys of Jesus and of the Apostles

The Evangelists report not only the journey of the 12-year old Jesus with Mary and Joseph from Galilee to Jerusalem to celebrate Passover (Luke 2, 41-51) but also several journeys of Jesus through Galilee and in other areas (compare Mark 6 6). "Jesus went round about villages, teaching." (Luke 13, 22.) "And Jesus went through cities and villages, teaching, journeying toward Jerusalem." (Mark 6, 6-13.) Luke describes Jesus' program: "Nevertheless I must walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the following day." (Luke 13, 13 [sic--correct attribution 13, 33].) Thus, journeys and pilgrimages played a major role in Jesus' life and mission.

In addition, the Acts of the Apostles describe the missionary work in the first Church and mention "journeys," the best known of them the three journeys of Apostle Paul (Acts 13, 4-14; 15, 36 and 18, 22; 18, 23 and 21, 17). St. Philip and Deacon also spread the message of Jesus on his excursions to the Holy Land (Acts 8, 4-10; 8, 40: "But Philip ... passing through he preached in all the cities."). The Acts describe a great missionary journey of St. Peter, the "first Pope," which took him from Jerusalem to Lydda, Joppa, Caesarea, and back to Jerusalem (Acts 9, 32 - 11, 18). Thus, his journeys on which he, a "messenger of God," traveled through the world, were an integral part of a missionary's life.

Travels of Recent Popes

We can understand properly the purpose of the journeys of our recent popes only if we scrutinize them in the light of the travels described in the New Testament. It is evident that the Pope does not travel for his own "pleasure"; his trips are strenuous apostolic journeys from which the Pope returns exhausted. On such journeys the Pope, driven by his apostolic fervor, does not spare himself. Let us recall, for instance, the Pope's trip to Brazil where he delivered more than 60 addresses, without a single day of respite. According to his own testimony, the Pope regards his travels as "pilgrimages" and above all, as journeys for the purpose of spiritual administration by which he wants to express his unity with the bishops all over the world and in particular, as John Paul II says, to reemphasize his desire to strengthen Christians in their faith. However, on his journeys he wants to learn about the anxieties, problems and needs of the local churches he visits. As he returned from his travels in Africa he admitted that on that particular trip he had learned much. Thus, the Pope gains deep insight on the condition of the Church in various countries and on various continents.

In addition, his travels are linked with the function of St. Peter's office which the Pope performs. One of vital functions of St. Peter's office in the Church, represented by the Pope, is, beyond any doubt, the task to increase the awareness of unity among the believers all over the world. Congregations of believers must be certain that the entire Church has one visible head and one shepherd who represents Christ and who knows and shares Her problems. If the Pope often deals at the same time with social problems of a particular country and of the world, as demonstrated dramatically in New York before the United Nations, in Mexico and Brazil, he acts as a paraclete of all the oppressed and poverty-stricken people and fights for human rights. A part of "Peter's" mission in the Church calls for concern about the impaired unity of the Church and for every possible effort to restore it. This was above all the purpose of the travels undertaken by Popes Paul VI and John Paul II to visit the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople, Turkey, whom Orthodox Christians regard as their venerated supreme head. The Pope cannot wait for the Orthodox Christians to approach him; he must take the initiative and offer them his hand as a brother in sign of reconciliation.

Thus, travels of the popes and in particular, of the current Pope, are intrinsically connected with their mission as successors of St. Peter. Moreover, the Pope regards his trips as pilgrimages; on almost every journey he visits famous places of pilgrimage. His trip to the FRG included a visit to the pilgrims' shrine of Altoetting in the diocese of Passau. The people in the Far East are still buoyed by the deep impression of his pastoral visit from 16 to 27 February. He had flown over 35,000 kilometers and delivered 56 addresses. He stopped in Pakistan and visited the

Philippines and then Japan. In Hiroshima he delivered a dramatic appeal against atomic weapons. After a stopover in Alaska he returned over the North Pole to Rome.

That is the real purpose of the Pope's travels.

On Saint Derided by Regime

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY No 24, 14 Jun 81 p 3

[Excerpt from a pastoral letter of Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, Archbishop of Prague, which was read on Sunday 17 May]

[Text] St. John [Nepomucene's] life was a simple one. He was born in about 1345 as a son of Velflin, mayor in the village of Pomuk, later named Nepomuk. He became a priest and studied canon law first in Prague and then in Padua, Italy. He served as priest in St. Gall's church in Prague and as canon in Vysehrad. In 1389 he was chosen by Archbishop John of Jenstejn for the office of general vicar. In the office entrusted to him John proved himself an efficient, reliable and dedicated colleague.

He set a beautiful example for each of us. As John was charged with priestly duties, so is each of us called to a certain vocation. As John tried to fulfill all his duties properly and conscientiously, so must we fulfill our duties if we wish to live a truly worthy life. It does not matter what task is assigned to us in life; it matters how we fulfill it.

In disputes between Archbishop Jenstejn and King Wenceslas IV court counsels proposed that the king detach from the archdiocese of Prague its western part and establish there a new diocese whose material support was to be derived from the estates owned by the monastery in Kladruby which they intended to liquidate after the death of its aged abbot, Racek. However, when the abbot died in the spring of 1393, the monks, following the regulations in force, elected a new abbot and requested that the Archbishop approve his election. In the Archbishop's absence the general vicar confirmed the election. The king who was staying at that time in the Zebrak castle was angered by the confirmation. The Archbishop escaped his ire but General Vicar John, his colleague Nicholas Puchnik, the Capitular Dean Bohuslav, and Knight Nepr were "examined" by torture in the Old Town city hall; in other words, they were drawn on the rack and branded on their hips.

A recent forensic examination of John's relics proved that he had suffered a fracture on the shoulder blade and that the frontal part of his skull had been split by a blunt instrument, which caused his death. He was already dead when his body was dumped in the Vltava river. In his complaints addressed to the pope in Rome Archbishop John of Jenstejn referred to him as a holy martyr.

Modern historians who do not exclude the possibility that John Nepomucene died a martyr's death protecting the confessional secret stress in particular the fact that John was not tortured for punishment but during the investigation, but he would not disclose certain secrets to the king even at the cost of his life; he carried them with him to his grave. For that reason this saint is usually portrayed with a finger touching his lips to indicate that he is protecting a secret. His example is a great challenge to us to remain faithful to Christ and to our Church, and to fulfill with devotion our daily duties.

On Ignored Assassination Attempt

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY No 24, 14 Jun 81 p 3

[Excerpt from a letter to the editors of KATOLICKE NOVINY by Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, Archbishop of Prague: "On Self-Examination of One's Conscience"]

[Text] In the afternoon on Wednesday, 13 May, the Holy Father was expected to appear in the overcrowded square in front of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Joyful anticipation was felt all over. The tension was spreading. The bell on the tower of the basilica rang 5 o'clock, which meant that the anticipated moment had come. The audience began shouting in exultation. Standing in an open jeep, with his usual fatherly grin, the Holy Father was waving to the people on both sides, blessing them and shaking innumerable hands stretched out in greeting with a smile he returned to its mother's arms a baby who had just received his special blessing.

What happened at that moment struck like a lightning from a clear sky. Several shots reverberated. The secretary and the chamberlain standing beside the Pope grabbed the staggering Holy Father whose white cassock was turning red with blood. The immeasurable terror expressed by the onlookers simply cannot be described. The jeep with the Holy Father sped fast toward a spot in the courtyard on the left side of the basilica where, during papal audiences, ambulances always park in case of emergency. The Holy Father was transferred into one of them and taken to the Agostino Gemelli Polyclinic. None of those present was ashamed to shed tears; weeping and especially prayers could be heard. Indeed, prayer brings the greatest light and support at any occasion, particularly in moments of crisis.

By 6 PM the Holy Father was already in the operating room. Because he had lost a considerable amount of blood, he was given a transfusion of 3 litres of blood plasma. The diagnosis disclosed an injury in the abdominal cavity and wounds on the right shoulder and on the left hand. Nevertheless, no vital organ was affected. The operation ended at 11 PM.

After his surgery the Holy Father was placed in the intensive care recovery room. He received the sacraments of the sick. He drew his profound inner peace from continuous prayers. Holy Mass was celebrated in his room and he received the Lord's Body on Thursday, Friday and Saturday. On Sunday he celebrated Holy Mass, of course, sitting up, assisted by his private secretary and another priest.

His apostolate continues in unity with Christ, in prayer and resigned suffering dedicated to our Heavenly Mother, Virgin Mary. In that spirit he is trying to follow even more faithfully his motto "Totus Tuus -- Completely Thine." He expressed the same sentiment in his Sunday message taped in the polyclinic and broadcast the following Sunday over the public address system in St. Peter's Square. In his address he mentioned the two women who had been wounded with him, one of them--from the United States--gravely, the other--from Jamaica--less seriously.

The assailant turned out to be a 23-year-old murderer, a Turk named Mohamed Ali Agca, who after his heinous act threw away his weapon and tried to escape. However, the police apprehended him and removed him from the scene. His name had been listed by international police. Before the visit of the Holy Father in Turkey 2 years

ago Agca had made known his intention to kill the Pope. He was imprisoned for the murder of the editor in chief of the journal MILLIET. He escaped from prison and traveled over much of Europe under an assumed name. He speaks English. Quite recently he checked into a hotel in Rome near Vatican City. The owner of the hotel informed the police, among other things, that Agca had had numerous interstate telephone calls. The police found on him a large amount of money. Although he was not employed, he had at his disposal considerable financial funds and had many contacts abroad. It is obvious that such activities are intentional and organized. The fact that such a jungle can exist in our time is devastating.

In his assailant the Holy Father sees a pitiable, confused man, as he expressed in his Sunday message: "I am praying for the brother who wounded me and whom I have already forgiven."

The event which took place in St. Peter's square in Rome on 13 May challenges people all over the world to reexamine their conscience very seriously. It serves as a warning signal for all the world, and in particular, for all governments: As soon as possible take every necessary, strict measure to prevent violence, so that civilization, mutual understanding and love repulse the jungle. Enforce respect for human dignity everywhere. It is above all the current pope, John Paul II, who always emphasized this in all his messages in Rome and on his travels.

We want to live a truly happy life, not only in the short span of our human existence here on this earth but also in eternal life after death. Christ says to us: "I have come so all may receive life in its greatest fullness...."

Remember the Holy Father in your prayers particularly now, so that he soon be able again to continue the great mission entrusted to him not only for the sake of God's people in the Church but also in the whole human community.

9004
CSO: 2400/221

BRIEFS

UNION TRAINING COURSE IN MOSCOW--A group of 80 trade union functionaries had recently completed a 5-week course, consisting of 120 lectures and seminars, at the Saltykovka facility of the Trade Union College in Moscow. Over 1,180 Czechoslovak ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) functionaries have attended this facility so far. The course enables foreign functionaries to improve their theoretical knowledge of trade unionism, as well as gain practical experience with the Soviet trade unions. During the course, students were able to acquaint themselves with actual trade union work at the Dynamo plant in Moscow and at the production cooperation Moloko, had met with top Soviet trade union functionaries, visited Leningrad and attended many cultural activities in Moscow. The lecturers at the Saltykovka compound are college professors from the Trade Union College in Moscow. According to the Deputy Director P.A. Afrosin, their classes consist of trade union functionaries from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Mongolia, while courses are being prepared for functionaries from Vietnam, Laos and Poland. The school library has available about 67,000 books, many of them being in foreign languages such as Czech and Slovak. [Prague PRACE in Czech 7 Jul 81 p 5]

CSO: 2400/257

CHRISTIANS' ACCOMMODATION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY DISCUSSED

Catholic Church Position

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 14 No 5, May 81 signed to press 28 Apr 81 pp 459-462

['Commentaries and Current Discussions' feature article by Prof Dr Klemens Richter, academic senior counselor, Catholic Theology Studies, Muenster University: "'Do We Still Have a Chance as Christians?'--On a Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops in the GDR." A translation of the author's article cited in footnote 3 is published under the heading, "Church Policies and Conscientious Objectors Analyzed," in JPRS 73103, 28 Mar 79, No 1662 of this series, pp 74-86. Translations of other articles on the subject of Church-State relations, both Catholic and Protestant, are available in the following JPRS issues of this series: CATHOLIC--Lent 1981 pastoral letter, 78033, 8 May 81, No 1877, pp 31-34 (including Protestant Bishop Schoenherr on government promises, pp 35-36); Honecker-Catholic Bishop Schaffran meeting, 78075, 14 May 81, No 1879, pp 17-21; Catholic-atheist problems, 77564, 11 Mar 81, No 1856, pp 42-45; 75032, 30 Jan 80, No 1759, pp 14-18 (apolitical Catholics) and pp 19-24, 25-32 (active, self-confident Protestants); significance of 6 Mar 78 Honecker-Schoenherr meeting for Catholics, 71428, 10 Jul 78, No 1561, pp 5-7. PROTESTANT--on renewed state pressure, 78399, 29 Jun 81, No 1893, pp 31-37; hardening SED stand, 78188, 29 May 81, No 1884, pp 25-30; 6 Mar 78 meeting with Honecker, 71205, 30 May 78, No 1540, pp 21-28; new problems after Honecker meeting, 77355, 9 Feb 81, No 1848, pp 9-16; Bishop Schoenherr on prospects, 77514, 5 Mar 81, No 1854, pp 14-21; views on human rights, 78136, 21 May 81, No 1881, pp 49-51]

[Text] "Do we still have a chance as Christians in our country? What will become of our children's and adolescents' Christian faith? Do we find the kind of community we need in our diaspora church?" These are the central three questions of a "Joint Pastoral Letter for Lent" from the Catholic bishops in the GDR, read at all Catholic service in the GDR on 8 March 1981, almost exactly 3 years after the talk between Bishop Schoenherr, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, and State Council Chairman Honecker. One should have to go back as far as 1974 to find a similarly critical statement on the sociopolitical situation penned by the GDR bishops that gained public knowledge in the ecclesiastic sphere. In their church policy, the Catholic bishops in the GDR have always insisted on strict demarcation from the atheist state, so much so that Evangelical church leaders have thought they could detect clear differences of emphasis in the attitudes of the two denominations toward the regime.[1] The Catholic Church has avoided doing anything

suggesting it might have been taken in by the state, on the one hand and, on the other, that could have looked like political opposition. So it never applauded the practice of the Evangelical Church to deal with the questions of what it means to be Christian in a socialist society, it in fact maintained distance from the Protestant brothers and sisters because of the Evangelical readiness to engage in talks with the GDR leadership. It is no secret that Cardinal Bengsch, erstwhile Chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, to which all Catholic bishops in the GDR belong, took a dim view of the talk between Schoenherr and Honecker on 6 March 1978.[2] And against all criticism from their own ranks of such an unyielding stance they would hold up this sort of maxim: He who, like Daniel, sits in the lions' den should neither stroke the lions nor pull them by their tails. This the bishops also deemed appropriate because the Catholics, with a bare 8 percent of the total GDR population, constitute a small minority.

Thus the Catholics, in contrast to the Evangelical Church, held no public debate when military instruction was introduced in GDR schools. Merely behind closed doors, as a sort of secret diplomacy, Catholic anxieties were conveyed to the regime.[3] The government would find that acceptable enough because it prevented from the outset possible sources of unrest among the Catholics such as seemed to form here and there among the Protestants due to the broad debates in which their congregations became engaged. Even in 1975 things had been similar when Cardinal Bengsch, at the pastoral synod of the GDR episcopal districts, entered a veto against letting, mainly, lay members of the synod take critical positions on socio-political issues.

The first change in this clear and unequivocal position seemed to be signaled on 15 January 1981. On that day, the successor to Berlin's Cardinal Bengsch, who had died in office, that is to say the new chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, had his first audience with Honecker. Gerhard Schaffran, Bishop of Dresden-Meissen and since 1980 the new chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, there took a step Bengsch had avoided in all the 18 years that he had been in office. The Church immediately emphasized that it had meant "no change of emphasis in Church-State relations" because Schaffran had met with Honecker in the latter's function as State Council chairman and not as party chief, and furthermore, "the meeting was to be rated not as coming up to or imitating the meeting between Erich Honecker and the chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches of 6 March 1978."[4]

Yet especially after the 15 January talks, of which the Catholics said they did not lead to "any new quality of State-Church relations" and that "continuity continued to be the main line of relations," the GDR leadership must have been all the more surprised by the pastoral letter of March 1981. The bishops are accusing it--in a questioning fashion, to be sure, and yet unmistakably--of violating the constitutional right to freedom of belief and conscience. "What good is it if the Constitution guarantees and legally insures the freedom of belief and conscience, yet our children nevertheless are exposed without protection to the draft of atheistic education? Is the new school system regulation objective of 29 November 1979 anything else but the communist education of youth?[5] Does the state's educational monopoly leave any room for our parents' right? Parents must not surrender their primary educational right, and no one must take it away from them. The state, with its educational objectives, must still respect the will of the parents."

The government is being reminded of its legal obligations within the national and international framework--very much the way Evangelical bishops have been doing it for years: "This church doctrine also conforms with the UN Charter, the general human rights declaration and the Final Act of Helsinki.[6] All these declarations have the force of law in the GDR. Does it conform with Christian parents' right to education and to the tolerance vis-a-vis persons who think differently, which those documents ask for, if Christian children are taught in school that a belief in God is obsolete, primitive superstition and scientifically refuted? Does it conform with the right of parents and the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the practice of religion if Christian children, whose ethical norm in life is love, are brought up to hate? As Christians we can never affirm hatred. God is nobody's enemy. He also expects of us, the children of God, that we love even those who are hostile to us. Hatred creates enmity, and instilling hatred destroys the will to peace and peace itself." Youth Consecration is referred to as an example, which had been the focal point of criticism even in the pastoral letter of 1974: "What has been done in regard to the youth consecration, painfully suffered by thousands of Catholic parents and children, still more gravely infringes the right of the free practice of religion. Time and time again it is being reiterated that the participation in the youth consecration is voluntary.[7] Yet if Catholic parents and children take it to be voluntary, they normally become subject to so much moral pressure from their schools, the enterprises in which the parents work, or other social institutions, that nothing voluntary can any longer be found in it. Atheistic parents and their children brought up as atheists enjoy their undisputed right to commit themselves to an atheistic way of life through their solemn youth consecration vow. But Christians who want to live with God cannot simultaneously solemnly affirm the unquestionably atheistic objective of the youth consecration. This one must not ask of Christians! Injustice it is to seek to force them through moral pressure."

GDR Catholics who are critical of the regime or of the church do ask themselves, however, whether this is the proper field for a confrontation. Youth consecration instruction, while clearly atheistic in its orientation, does not as such contain a solemn commitment to atheism. What is demanded by it is something even a bishop could hardly place publicly in doubt without provoking a conflict with the system: the GDR's being tied up within the Warsaw Pact, the socialist economic system and the membership in the socialist community. As the youth consecration, according to the GDR, is an element of the overall culture and education process of the socialist school, criticism from the bishops, in all honesty, would have to start with that. Atheistic education, as it were, is not a particular emphasis placed on instruction on youth consecration, but it pervades the whole educational sphere, all school instruction. Much more urgent thus would be, in the view of critical GDR Catholics, questioning the oath to the flag of the National People's Army, which indeed commits the young people to matters much more closely tied up with the bishops' criticism of an education that instills hatred.

The pastoral letter for the first time also publicly comments on the more conciliatory attitude, for years, by the Catholic Church toward those who, though Catholics, still take part in the youth consecration: "We know the pangs of conscience many of your are subjected to by the recruitment for the youth consecration. We want to carry your burden with you and also help you by this patoral letter. Yet we cannot

make your decision of conscience for you. We also know of the pain of those who let their children take part in youth consecration. We beg them to make up for thus having given in by truly living in their faith."

The bishops' clear language--apart from the differing views held on the statements about youth consecration--has met altogether with a most positive reception from the Catholic congregations in the GDR. That is especially true of the analysis of the question whether there still is a chance to be Christian in the GDR: "Time and time again it is being said through the media and through instructions that we are on the way toward communism. By that time religion will of necessity have been done away with. No longer will it find then a margin for survival. This atheistic prognosis is accompanied by some practical materialism. Money, work and prosperity, shaky idols though they are, continue to dominate life. Do we still have a chance as Christians in our country? We do have a chance as Christians always and everywhere if we pursue the way of Christ. He is with us, lives in our midst and becomes our living presence through us. Therefore we not only have a chance, we, as Christians, are a chance for our country. That we first must comprehend ourselves. Others may reckon their chances by the power available to them. Our chance is the power of the children of God. That precisely is what the Holy Father impressed on us diaspora Christians when he said in Osnabrueck: 'Your faith meeting its tests--that is your chance!'"

Conspicuously, several quotations are used from speeches by the Pope during his visit to the FRG. It not only expresses the close bond between the GDR Church and the universal Church of Rome but probably also the relationship with the Catholics in the FRG, even if this is not enunciated directly anywhere.

A new tone is found above all in the treatment of the third question: "Do we find the kind of community we need in our diaspora church?" While previous pastoral letters would always stress the community with the hierarchy, the bond with the bishops, now the community at its base has become of central concern: "Is our diaspora church, our parish community, such that we sense our brotherhood and have our faith strengthened? Does one perceive the working of the spirit of Christ in it, or is it an encrusted, rigidified community? Is it a small and narrowed ghetto church which gives us pain or a church we love and in which to live is joy to us?" The bishops are not painting an ideal type of image but confess that the church is "the community of those chosen by God and at the same time also the church of the sinners." "We all are failing time and time again, and so there also is the all-too-human and insufficiency in the church. That keeps valid the old saying 'ecclesia semper reformanda' (The church needs constant renewal)." Then comes a reference to the Lord of the Christian community, Jesus Christ, whose succession also the Catholics have to assume: "He does not make us flock together as a community of prosperity the way the world is seeking it but a community of life, peace, justice and brotherly love. Such a community it is that men are starving for today." Congregations should make the Gospel become real in such a way that even in the diaspora they will find the community they need: in their coming together, their brotherly bonds, standing up for one another, in cleansing their guilt and in the joy in their faith, the readiness for service, for seeking one's fellow-men, with the courage to bear witness and the strength for sacrifice, without which no life can succeed." And pointing toward the future, the bishops pass on to their congregations what the Pope said in Fulda: "Many think the history of Christianity is coming to an end. I say unto you that history shall now begin anew, and this through you!"

This altogether frank debate on important issues of the believers in the GDR has been somewhat of an embarrassment to FRG media. No comment, except for the brief one of KNA,[8] had been made until late in April. The authors of the pastoral letter themselves are likely not to care for a discussion in the West so that GDR organs find no pretext for the customary allegation that the church in this way supplied the class enemy with arguments by which to harm socialism and the state. However, it is hardly to be expected that the SED will engage in public issue with the pastoral letter after having hushed up the bishops' statement 7 years ago as well. No foundation probably exists as yet for speculating whether or not the Catholic Church in the GDR is now moving closer to the Protestants in taking issue with the system. Even so, the new tone in many respects may suggest attention to a slight change of emphasis. Some people in the GDR think it might, not last, be attributable to the new bishops the Polish Pope has appointed in Berlin, Joachim Meisner, and the successor of Bishop Hugo Aufderbeck of Erfurt-Meiningen, who died on 17 January, Joachim Wanke. Doubtless, the GDR bishops' posture is not unrelated to the changes in the Vatican's Eastern Policy under John Paul II.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf., inter alia, even back in 1972, H. Bischof and J. Fraenkel, in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 7, 1980, p 688.

2. K. Richter, "The Berlin Conference of Bishops and the Berlin Diocese," Ibid., pp 687-690.

3. Cf. K. Richter, "Churches and Conscientious Objection in the GDR," DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, No 1, 1979, pp 39-46.

4. KNA INFORMATIONSDIENST, No 12, 19 March 1981.

5. School Regulation of 29 November 1979, "GBL der DDR," Part I, No 44.

6. "UN Charter Article 26 - General Human Rights Declaration of 10 December 1948 - Final Act of Helsinki of 1 August 1975, Part I, Section VII," Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1976.

7. E. Hager, "Youth Consecration Appeal, Autumn 1974," "Woerterbuch der socialistischen Jugendpolitik," East Berlin, 1975, p 129 (under entry "Jugendweihe").

8. KNA INFORMATIONSDIENST, No 13, 26 March 1981.

'New Churches in New Cities'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 May 81 p 9

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, 29 May: "Christian Community Out of the Void: First Church Construction in Eisenhuettenstadt, the 'First Socialist City of the GDR'"]

[Text] The bishop of the eastern region of the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg, Albrecht Schoenherr, is going to consecrate the first newly built community center in Eisenhuettenstadt, a rebuilt area of the GDR, on Sunday, 31 March 1981.

Setting up the Evangelical peace congregation there is part of the construction program, "New Churches in New Cities," by the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR. Its projects are funded from donations of the Evangelical churches in the FRG and the Christian Church as a whole. It had taken lengthy and tenacious efforts before the GDR government in 1976 eventually granted the Federation of Evangelical Churches the right to build churches and community centers also in new cities and large rebuilt areas.

If the first project in this rebuilding program can be turned over to the purpose it is designed for in Eisenhuettenstadt of all places, it is a matter that is not without symbolic significance: Eisenhuettenstadt in Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk, in the GDR's official linguistic usage, is the "first socialist city in the GDR." It is by no means a normally grown settlement but a city designed by blueprint and established according to plan, and its name--though the hour of its birth goes back to 1950--can be found only on atlases printed after 1961. This is so because first they were only calling it the residential area of Eisenhuettenkombinat Ost (EKO). In May 1953, however, it was given the name "Stalinstadt," and lexicons of the 1950's as published in the GDR would add "residential area of Eisenhuettenkombinat J. W. Stalin."

In the plans for a city of the Eisenhuettenkombinat, which was developed, after the Third SED Congress resolved to do it, on barren sandy soil growing dwarfed pines 30 kilometers south of Frankfurt/Oder on the Oder-Spree Canal, no thought had presumably been given to building a church. They assumed mainly young socialists from all parts of the GDR would work in the Eisenhuettenkombinat and populate its city, a city meant to become eventually a "socialist model city." In his "oblatory speech" by which he handed the city over to the public on 8 May 1953, Ulbricht consequently stated that in this Stalinstadt there would, to be sure, "be a tower for the city hall and a tower for the community hall" yet, as he emphasized in alluding to the demand for a church building at that time, "other towers we have no use for in the socialist city." Today, when no one any longer talks of Stalinstadt and no one in Eisenhuettenstadt cares to recall that this Kombinat Ost once bore the "honorific and obliging name" J. W. Stalin, the Protestants in the city can consecrate their newly built church, which is as suitable as it is architecturally pleasant--making a pleasing contrast with the city's dreary bloc architecture--and thereby make visible that Christian faith is much alive even in this "first socialist city of the GDR" and has no intention to wither away.

The history of Eisenhuettenstadt begins on 18 August 1950. Industrial Minister Fritz Selbmann that day cut down the first pinetree near the old Oder town Fuerstenberg and only a few kilometers north of what was once the Cistercian Monastery of Neuzelle. That, one may say, turned the first sod for constructing EKO. In this foundry near the Oder the SED intended to make GDR steel out of Soviet ore and Polish coal. As early as on 1 January 1951 the cornerstone was laid for the foundation of the first blast-furnace, which was blown in on 19 September that year. Five more blast-furnaces were built up to August 1954. By tapping the sixth blast-furnace on 11 August 1954, the construction of the pig-iron plant was virtually completed. Ten years later, in cooperation with the Soviet Union, they started the construction of a cold-rolling mill, which began operating in 1968. Now they are still planning the construction of a converter mill. State Council Chairman Honecker gave out the order for it in November last year during his official visit in Austria to the Austrian VOEST-Alpine Corporation. Carrying a price tag of DM 2 1/2 billion, this is the

biggest GDR order placed in the West thus far. The GDR's industrial reform, by the way, has not let EKO (with its pig-iron plant and cold-rolling mill) left alone. In 1969, EKO was combined with the Thale foundry, the rolling-mills of Finow and Burg, the cold-rolling mills of Bad Salzungen and Oranienburg, and the plate-rolling mill of Olbernhau in the Erz Mountains into a "socialist concern," the VEB Hermann Matern Band Steel Combine.

As originally planned, the city of EKO, the cornerstone for its first block likewise having been laid in 1951, was supposed to be much smaller than Eisenhuettenstadt is by now. Yet as the foundry came to turn more and more into a metallurgical center of the GDR, Eisenhuettenstadt itself is growing above and beyond the EKO city once planned for but 30,000 inhabitants. Meanwhile a fifth and sixth block has been added to the first four city-blocks built up to the mid-1960's (of which the first ones built and the "social" structures still went up entirely in the style of the former Stalinallee in East Berlin). These two new city-blocks, with their apartments built by way of block construction in industrial prefabrication, burst the originally planned boundaries of the city and--crossing the Oder-Spree Canal--directly connected with the town of Fuerstenberg, which is thus, spatially and functionally, growing together with the city.

In 1961, the EKO city was incorporated into a city community now called Eisenhuettenstadt together with the old fishing town Fuerstenberg east of it and the miners' settlement Schoenfliess west of it. This city now has 50,000 inhabitants. They are already contemplating an expansion in connection with the construction of the converter mill. Given "spatial possibilities," as the municipal council has put it, Eisenhuettenstadt could eventually approach a population of 70,000.

The history of the Evangelical peace community in Eisenhuettenstadt, so called since 1963 and now having 2,000 members, begins at Christmas 1953 in an old vehicle of the foundry mission with a service attended by three or four persons. Yet Pastor Braeuer who officiated then and is still doing so today did not stay on his church wagon. He did not wait for someone to come to him but went to the people moving into the newly developing city. If people settle anywhere, he said to himself, there are bound to be Christians among them, and even if these people coming from all parts of the GDR are young and have left their families and home areas to establish their future here, the church cannot leave them alone but must be available for people uprooted like that. So he would walk up and down the stairs in these new city-blocks, introduce himself as a pastor and induce the people to talk with him, Pastor Braeuer is saying. No one had banged the door in his face, he says. The people had talked with him and even the ones that were not Christians among them had been grateful that someone had come to them to talk with them about their cares and needs without asking them for anything.

Of course, not all whom the active and affecting pastor called on would come to attend his services. But some did come, and so the church wagon soon became too confining. At Easter 1954 they had to set up a tent next to the wagon, and shortly thereafter they could move into two barracks one of which would serve as a church and the other one as a community center. This manner of meeting in barracks by the Eisenhuettenstadt Protestants lasted until April 1978. It had symbolized "God's people migrating through the desert," Pastor Braeuer now says. And he adds, pensively: "And it also makes clear that, while we live, we live on call."

In 1978 the barracks had to be torn down because the construction of a community center on grounds granted to the church for its use had now been authorized. The cornerstone was laid in November 1978, the completion of the framework was celebrated a year thereafter. The builder was the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, the construction itself was carried out by the VEB municipal construction enterprise. When we 2 years ago passed by the community center site next to the Medical College where one enters the fifth city-block and noticed construction workers at work there after quitting time, a member of the city council walking with us said: "Well, this now is an export contract. The construction, as you know, is funded abroad."

The price tag of the community center is given as M 1.8 million. It is a two-story building with a small atrium. Under one and the same roof the structure has an auditorium for services with 200 seats, a community hall and classrooms, and offices for community work and administration. A separate parsonage is part of it too. The interior decor as much as the maintenance must then be financed by the church community. Maybe the sponsor community of the peace community in the FRG will help a bit. That is the Evangelical church community of Troisdorf near Bonn.

Pastor Braeuer, now being assisted by a second pastor, hopes the community center will become a house of encounter, encounter with God and with people. Church congresses, synods, conventions and church music performances is something else he has in mind for this house, in front of which soon also three church bells will get a bell tower from which to ring and peal into the socialist city. Thus far Pastor Braeuer could count on an average of from 60 to 70 believers at his services. Why should their number not grow in the new building? The city keeps growing. The average age of its inhabitants is 31 years. It already has 9,000 pensioners, and 90 percent of its women works. And finally, there are no differences to be found, with respect to the positive as well as the negative manifestations of public life, between Eisenhuettenstadt, though it is always being referred to as the first socialist city in the GDR, and other cities in the GDR.

'Thriving Coexistence'

Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in German 4 Jun 81 p 1

['OZ/BD' report from Graal-Mueritz: "Thriving Coexistence Between Marxists and Christians--Candid Election Talk With Prof Dr Gert Wendelborn"]

[Text] Dr Rudolf Scholze, chairman of the bezirk committee of the National Front of the GDR and bezirk assembly candidate, yesterday [3 June 1981] welcomed church associates, synod members, pastors and theologians from the Baltic Bezirk for a candid round of talks in preparation of the 14 June elections.

Prof Dr Gert Wendelborn, of the theology department at Rostock's Wilhelm Pieck University, again a candidate for the People's Chamber, vividly explained with how much energy he was supporting the working class policy for the good of socialist society.

He found his active political commitment as a Christian possible because he could fully affirm the humanistic principles and goals of the socialist state and its policy as aimed at peace, detente and understanding among nations. It was his Christian faith which would challenge him to serve his fellow-men and all society. Commenting on basic social issues, the professor from Rostock paid tribute to the positive development of the state-church relationship as having been eloquently expressed during the talk of 6 March 1978. "That event was a significant step on the road toward a constructive and beneficial togetherness between Marxists and Christians in our country. We Christians have also gratefully taken notice of the endorsement of that course by the utterances at the 10th party congress," Prof Wendelborn said.

In a vivid exchange of ideas the participants expressed their agreement with the election appeal by the National Front and with the People's Chamber and bezirk assembly candidates.

Christians in Communist Youth Organization

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 5 Jun 81 pp 1-2

[Article by Doris Roewe, member, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Dresden; member, Central Council, Free German Youth (FDJ); deputy, GDR People's Chamber: "Christians Active in FDJ"]

[Text] In the FDJ Central Council report to our Parliament it is persuasively being brought out that the last 5 years have also been very successful ones for our youth organization. It is most pleasant and makes us proud to realize how much of a share we, the FDJ, have had in making life in our fatherland, the GDR, richer and more beautiful.

Dear Erich Honecker: our republic has paid great attention to our government delegation's visit to Japan. The results of the trip have once again made clear how fruitful the cooperation is among states with differing social orders on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and what high international respect the GDR and its highest representative enjoy.

As a young Christian in the ranks of the FDJ I feel deep satisfaction and joy about how the structure of human dignity we are erecting together is taking shape and offers security and a safe future to young and old alike.

The vast majority of the young Christians agrees with these ideas from the depth of their heart. Any young Christian who honestly and without prejudice wants to serve his fellow-man and serve peace finds the best prerequisites for it in our socialist state.

For how could there be anything more humanistic than assisting in the shaping of a policy that serves the good of the people, is marked by a resolute will for peace, and makes sure that our material and cultural standard of living rises constantly. For that I wish to thank my state and its government.

Much diligence will be required by everyone to reach our ambitious goals for the years ahead. Yet, after all, these are goals and tasks that stem directly from the interests and desires of our people. To do a good job for that is something that appeals to everyone and moves us ahead together.

I perceive it as a blessing to sense respect and recognition in my work whenever one can detect the fruits of our daily work in our personal lives.

I have learned to think, feel and act politically in our unified socialist youth association. Here I can develop my personality and enjoy equality of respect, obligation and entitlement.

I can place my whole person in the service to all--in my job as chief for training and advanced training at Bezirk headquarters of Dresden's State Insurance and as a deputy of the GDR People's Chamber.

In all domains of our public life young Christians are found who, like myself, help strengthen and bear responsibility for our socialist republic by their conscious manner of conduct.

The supreme goal of socialist society is to preserve and further shape a world of human dignity. In this, the safeguarding of peace comes first.

As a Christian who wants life and peace for all men I do not withdraw into the privacy of my soul's being at peace but I feel that I personally share the responsibility for peace.

The supreme human right is in extreme jeopardy today because of NATO's nuclear missiles. Thus it is my obligation to do what I can to protect life.

The Moscow peace initiatives which I, as a People's Chamber deputy, fully endorsed by means of the joint pronouncement of all fractions on 2 April this year can help turn peace into the normal mode of life of all nations.

For that reason I am also fully in favor of the appeal from our 11th Parliament to the youth of all continents as contained in our Central Council report.

After the People's Chamber passed our defense law in 1978 they would be asking me at youth conferences whether my endorsement of it could be compatible with my Christian responsibility.

I know well enough from history that peace and social progress must be protected.

The exploiters in the form of imperialism would find any means appropriate for enslaving human life for the sake of their profits and threatening our freedom which we have won through socialism by force of arms.

From that I derive my responsibility: if one is for peace one must actively defend it and see to it that it is protected by all means.

As a deputy I am always confronted with many questions from our citizens. I must come to grips with them and not infrequently also fight and contend.

Because Christians do not confine their life and its shaping and fulfillment to themselves but feel called upon to include the well-being of their fellow-men in the meaning of their own life, they frankly favor their neighbor, his right, his own manner of being, and his problems. Existing for one's neighbor makes for actively sharing responsibilities at public dimensions.

I belong to the FDJ fraction. The 40 People's Chamber deputies representing the FDJ mandate impressively embody what is a principle in our state: youth is shown confidence and assigned responsibility.

In the last 5 years we were involved in the preparation, decision-making and implementation of 74 laws passed by our supreme people's representation.

What the FDJ says also counts in all commissions of the People's Chamber.

In implementing the five-year plan law, for example, the citizens' petition commission in which I participate supervised the implementation of the Council of Ministers' resolution on improving the preservation and administration of our housing. I watched the development in Dresden. As a result, we now have 43 mobile workshops for rapid repair services and 71 self-help workshops, and 40 apprentices started their vocational training in the communal housing administration.

All this surely helps satisfy faster and better the citizens' justified wishes and the demands they place on the communal housing administration.

Through deliberately acting on behalf of the commonweal personalities are being formed that open up through their own efforts the extensive possibilities socialism has to offer.

Promoting such a process purposefully is something our socialist youth organization derives as its own mission from the 10th SED Congress. It appeals to us young Christians, too.

Equality of opportunity for all children and adolescents never heretofore existed on German soil.

In our GDR such equality of opportunity exists for all who are willing to devote their talents, knowledge and skills to the well-being of the people and the mutual understanding of nations.

That can be gainsaid only by malicious persons. Only someone whose designs are selfish can fail to notice that the friendship among nations has never meant before as much as it means, on German soil, today in our republic.

Having participated in the 11th World Youth and Students Festival in Havana, I shall always recall the high regard in which our republic is held by the progressive youth of the world!

Existing for one's neighbor, to me, also includes the far distant neighbor, the one who still has to struggle for what we have already achieved. Anti-imperialist solidarity, to me, is the consequence of loving one's neighbor and political party-mindedness.

It patently conforms with Christian responsibility to strive for the characteristics that are being formed in our youth association, such as love for work, honesty, conscious discipline, steadfastness and dedication to our just socialist cause.

Cooperation of young people, in confidence and on equal terms, regardless of world-outlook, religious belief and social position, has proven itself a thousand times in our youth association.

As the last 5 years were a great success for all of us, the same holds true for me. I have learned much in this period, have grown intellectually and become more mature.

To me, the FDJ is the political home base in which I feel comfortable and am making my specific contribution to the strengthening of our state. There is no more beautiful feeling than sensing that this is the best way to serve one's neighbor and the commonweal. The beneficial togetherness of all citizens is the normal state of affairs in our country, as stated in the election appeal of the National Front.

For further advances along this prosperous course I shall pledge myself in voting on 14 June for the people's candidates in the People's Chamber and bezirk assembly elections.

5885
CSO: 2300/250

FIRST PARTY ELECTION CAMPAIGN CONFERENCES NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 13-14

[Article by Wlodzimierz Wodecki: "At the Initial Conferences" passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] 20 March--All day long the Reporting-Electoral Conference of the party organization at the Komuna Paryska Shipyard in Gdynia is in session. This is the fourth conference in a row, following those of the Lenin Shipyard, the Polish Ocean Lines [PLO] and the Gdansk Repair Shipyard, organized by the largest workers' party organizations in the Tri-city. They represent a nucleus of the Gdansk organization numbering 100,000--a nucleus of workers. It is, particularly with regard to the shipyards, these organizations which have the greatest moral right and political obligation to assume responsibility when crises arise and to do everything that is possible to create such conditions within the party that crises will never recur. As was stated at the conference by a foreman of the Komuna Paryska Shipyard, Czeslaw Ziejka, who celebrates 35 years of work in the shipyard this year as well as 35 years of activism in the Polish People's Republic and the PZPR: "For those years of work I will receive a bonus--a pension of 1.5 times the normal amount, and for my work in the party I received--August."

I believe that the four conferences and their results will provide a foundation to make at least an attempt to establish certain generalizations as well as offering a forum for discussing proposals. The front wall of the conference hall at the Komuna Paryska Shipyard was adorned with the slogan, /"Party unity and uniformity--the guarantee of the consolidation of PZPR policy."/ I believe that this slogan accurately portrays the political effects of the conferences. Each conference represented a decisive occurrence for its respective organization, an occurrence which strengthened the authority and the credibility of the POP [Primary Party Organizations] in the working masses, especially at the shipyards. For the first time in many years, the voice of the POP worker members was authentic and unfettered. These conferences were also of tremendous significance for the entire voivodship party organization and its echelons. I am deeply convinced that the course of the conferences was considerably affected by the opening up of the policy of the Gdansk party echelon to all sorts of plans for renewal since last August. It is not without reason that the representatives of the Voivodship Pre-Congress Commission took part in the conferences, reporting the results of the efforts of their team.

What They Had in Common

These four conferences had much in common. All were based on documents written at the conferences containing a summary of discussions in the POP and the considerations of teams appointed by the POP to develop criteria of party activity for preserving total democracy and for securing the system against the recurrence of sociopolitical crises in the future. Collectively, these paper provide an interesting overview of the political positions of the rank-and-file members of the organizations. They include proposals for changes in the Statute as well as interpretations of what the party is and what it should be, what its relationship to the administration should be, and the like. /New party leaders were chosen by secret ballot, including the KZ [factory committee] first secretary, delegates to district and municipal conferences and delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party/. Candidates were nominated at large, and lively discussions of their candidacy always ensued. There were also some reservations about certain candidates which led to a vote not to place the candidate on the list.

In some circles of aktiva, this electoral democracy aroused many doubts. It is not easy, after all, to rid oneself of habits of thinking and acting developed over the years. It is not easy to rid oneself of the conviction that it will be impossible to manage unless organizations are led by the hand. While it is true that the elections, the tabulation of votes and the numerous voting sessions took a long time, it also provided a guarantee that the people who were chosen earned public approbation and have nothing in their biographies of which to be ashamed.

I think that these conferences demonstrated how premature were the fears about the course they would take, and that these fears were the result of a lack of trust in the political wisdom of rank-and-file PZPR members. /Who was it that received the greatest number of votes and mandates for the position of KZ first secretary, and who received the mandates for delegates to conferences and to the congress? As a rule, experienced party members with many years of political work behind them who had often fulfilled responsible functions out of choice/. Both workers and engineers were selected, according to the basic criterion: involvement and political integrity. At the PLO and at the Gdansk Repair Shipyard the same comrades who held the position of first secretary of the KZ before the respective conference remained in the position. Thus, people were not anxious to change leaders for the sake of change itself; an honest evaluation of their former work was the basis of their selection.

I believe that in each of these four cases even the most orthodox could make no criticism of either the election process or the candidates, who had earned the support of the public. Thus, it is not difficult to understand how support expressed so democratically creates radically different conditions for party work for the leaders of organizations.

Another important element of the electoral campaign in these organizations should also be emphasized. The rule was that /persons who, in the opinion of the public, represented views that were too radical or extreme either to the "right" or to the "left" could not obtain a mandate/.

A Political Event

Another common feature of the conferences was the discussion, which was the most interesting part of the party meetings. It was broad, unlimited and without artificial restraints; it flowed from the depth of the heart of those who took the floor. I wrote earlier that it is the shipyard party organizations which have the greatest moral right and political obligation to assume responsibility for the sociopolitical crisis in the country. They also have the moral obligation and the right to arrive at the causes of these crises and to create conditions to keep them from arising. And this was the leading subject of many debates at the conferences over and above everything at the shipyards. /For the first time in many years, the conferences were a political event, and not an economic meeting/.

People spoke not only for themselves, but often emphasized: "I am speaking in the name of my organization..." and went on to criticize the mechanisms leading our country to its present political and economic. Next proposals were made for such changes in the system as would prevent the recurrence of such experiences. These ideas were expressed in the proposals of documents prepared by party organizations both in the form of motions made at the party congress and in demands for changes in the PZPR Statute.

I will not relate all of the evaluations and views that issued from the speaker's platforms of the four conferences here. They are synthesized both in the institutional proposals for changes in the Statute of the PZPR organizational systems and in the synthetic study of the Voivodship Pre-Congress Commission designated for the Central Congress Commission.

/The political current of the discussions, both a critical and an analytical current, was the dominant current of the reporting-electoral conferences. It was also a current which gave evidence of the deep attachment to socialism and the party/. It was expressed in all of the speeches of both those people who have many years of experience in the PZPR and those who received a party membership card only a few years ago.

A Clean Break

If I may write this, the three largest workers' party organizations of the Gdansk seacoast have experienced a clean break with the past. They have emerged out of a period of frustration and impotence and have entered a period of ideological consolidation, political offensiveness and of the unification of their tasks. Many of them have decreased their numbers of late. At the Gdansk Repair Shipyards, for example, approximately 340 comrades, for the most part workers, gave up their party memberships. /But those who remained, remained out of a full awareness of why they are PZPR members, out of the conviction that the party will emerge from the crisis stronger, with a greater credibility of the intentions of its tasks/. I believe that after the conferences, PZPR members can be activists in their place of work with their heads held high amid an environment of nonparty colleagues. What they discussed at the conferences, what they demanded, the conditions they imposed and resolved to go to any lengths to execute, are concurrent with the feelings of the work force. Finally their party organizations are one with the working masses, and the views of the members of these organizations, which for many

years were spoken privately outside of the official forum, this time resounded officially from the conference speaker's platforms.

A second equally broad current of the discussions was that of economic issues. These issues dominated the PLO conference. This is because its delegates, for the most part sailors, are more conscious of the economic crisis of Poland on the international markets. Their own experiences, those of people sailing on obsolete ocean liners which cannot compete with the fleets of other shipowners, coming up against what is being done about this problem at home, must have served to sharpen their view. Many bitter words were lashed out against the economic leadership for its powerlessness and its languor in solving growing economic and social problems. It was severe but just criticism.

Everyday Work

The four largest Tricity workers' party organizations have completed their reporting-electoral campaign. They have new political authorities chosen in democratic elections; they have also selected their delegates for the congress. The everyday work of the party is beginning. A constant element of this work will be the continued evaluation of what is happening within the whole party, an evaluation of the changes it is undergoing, as well as the popularization of the political positions of aktivs. These are different organizations than they were 1 or 2 years ago. Today they are a political force which believes in their own potential and, above all, in the rightness of what they demand from all PZPR members. They are consolidated organizations which represent a common, uniform view of the most important party and state issues, as well as being organizations which are deeply convinced that they also have a joint responsibility for what goes on in the country. They are organizations which will never again get bogged down in the details of even the most important issues of their own places of work, but will fight for the right to decide jointly the fortunes of their country.

8536
CSO: 2600/223

NATURE, ESSENCE OF PROPOSED CHANGES IN PZPR STATUTE DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 5, May 81 pp 8-13

[Article by Ryszard Lukasiewicz, deputy director, Central Committee Organization Department: "Nature and Kind of Changes Proposed for PZPR Statute"; Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The need to draft a new version of the PZPR Statute has become a behest of the times./ It ensues from the striving within the party to provide institutional guarantees that could become an effective barrier to political mistakes and abuses of power and consequently to major political crises as well. It also ensues from the sense of outrage still felt within the party and by the public against those who violated the principles of the party statute and ethical-moral standards. Thus this need ensues from the desire to define in the statute--as the collection of highest-ranking party rules--unambiguous standards and rules of behavior binding equally on everyone regardless of his function and social position and hence also preventing their arbitrary interpretation or disregard. Both these questions have been reflected in the proposals and suggestions received by Team I of the Congress Committee, the Central Committee, and the province echelons.

/The guiding idea of the activities of Team I of the Congress Commission has been to introduce such revisions and additions to the statute as would provide factual guarantees of the observance of Leninist principles in party practice, assure correct functioning of the previously disturbed relation between centralism and democratism, and define--in accordance with actual needs--the guiding role of the PZPR in society./ These issues are of decisive importance both to the party itself and to all political relations in this country. Hence the proposed platform for the Ninth PCPR Congress includes the postulate that they can be resolved only at the party congress itself.

Guarantees

What then is the nature and essence of the changes and what is the direction in which the work on the statute is proceeding?

/First, there is the increase in the rights of the party members and the basic privileges of local party organizations [POP]/ (including an explicit definition of the right of party members to voice and defend their views).

/Second, there is the broadening of the electoral rights of the party echelons, and primarily the definition of their ongoing control over executive organs and secretariats at all levels./ In this context, the scope of the competences and duties of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat, and the first secretary of the Central Committee has been tentatively defined, and guarantees for control of the authorities by party members and local party chapters have been drafted.

The great importance attached to this particular issue is due to the violation of the Leninist standards for guiding the party and the nation during various periods of the 36 years of our existence, including the violation of the principles of collegiality in the work of party echelons (inclusive of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat), which resulted in rupturing the bonds between the party and the working class as well as in mistakes and distortions of economic and social policies, and hence also to the most serious yet political and social crisis in the history of People's Poland.

The deviation from Leninist standards for guiding theparty signified the violation of the dialectical principle of democratic centralism to the disadvantage of democracy, as well as bureaucratization of party life. This has been reflected in the growing formalism of discussion and discussion and disappearance of criticism and self-criticism, absence of openness of party life, decline in the control functions of the party, and replacement of party echelons by the executive organs in state and economic administration. The restoration of proper relations between the elected party bodies and their executive organs, such that the former would not be supplanted by the latter, has become a major topic of the discussions now in progress.

/Third, there is the inclusion in the statute of fundamental democratic principles of voting/ (secrecy, lack of restrictions on nominations and on delegates) as well as the determination of the permissible period of time for exercise of functions by elected officials (the so-called principle of rotation of terms of office). This also entails the introduction of a general prohibition as regards entrusting to any single individual several leading party, state, and social functions at the same level of action, as well as the definition of the principle for separating party functions from state, social, and economic functions.

/Fourth, there is the introduction of a new section defining the tasks and duties of party organizations and echelons as well as of party members in translating into reality the guiding role of the party and the development of socialist democracy./

/Fifth, there is the broadening of the rights of party control commissions and autiting commissions./ The draft statute provides for an alternative solution. Either it is to be a broadening of the rights but maintenance of the previous structure, i.e., separation of party control commissions from audit commissions, or the creation of control-audit commissions. As the discussion so far has shown, both variants have their proponents and opponents.

/Sixth, there is the definition of certain principles regarding the openness of party life/ (flow of information and openness of documents, the obligation of providing consultations and replies to suggestions within 3 months of their reception, the obligation of submitting periodic reports on the activities of executive organs, on the management of income from party dues, etc).

/Seventh, there is the more precise definition of the obligations of party members, tightening of criteria for admission, and increase in responsibility for recommendations for admission./

/Eighth, there is the modification of certain principles of cadre policy and the determination of the role of regular party apparatus with regard to party echelons and organizations./

Achievement of the Discussion

/The presented draft statute warrants--compared with the hitherto obligatory PZPR Statute--speaking of a party statute that is new both in contents and in structure./ The revisions, additions, and new definitions account for more than one-half of the original text. The draft proposes three chapters, namely: "Intraparty Democracy, Democratic Centralism," "Voting Principles" and "The PZPR in the System of Socialist Democracy."

The new statute was also drafted on the basis of the wealth of suggestions made during the precongress discussions so far, and the proposals for revisions and additions result from analyses and comparisons of thousands of suggestions and postulates concerning the functioning and activities of the party that have been submitted to the Central Committee. The proposed changes also are based on the valuable and interesting reports of provincial congress commissions and materials drafted by certain commissions and consultation-and-arbitration teams of local party organizations, as well as by scholars and by individual party activists.

/Entire or partial drafts of the statute have been submitted by, among others, provincial precongress commissions from Gdansk, Warsaw, Lodz, Poznan, Krakow, Torun, Szczecin, and Katowice. Drafts of a new statute have been prepared by scientific research workers from the Higher School of Social Sciences [WSNS] under the PZPR Central Committee and the B. Bierut University in Wroclaw, as well as by the party collective of the V. Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk./

All these proposals and drafts regardless of their degree of detail and innovation--the most complete draft in this respect being the one submitted by the WSNS--center around the issues of an explicit definition of the ideological-political principles of the PZPR, the manner in which the party is to exercise its leading role, the restoration of balance between democratic centralism and intraparty democracy, the strengthening of criteria for membership, the role of the POP and elected authorities, definition of the functions and tasks of the party apparatus, and strengthening of the rank of the party's control functions.

Now that I have presented the directions of changes in the statute and the general attitude to the achievements of the discussion so far, let us consider in greater detail the discrete chapters, additions, revisions, and new solutions regarding the statute.

Ideological Principles

The preamble to the statute, which is still being edited, has been somewhat revised in the direction of supplanting certain formulations with others that are more appropriate to the actual situation and needs so as to eliminate language that

nowadays sounds egregious, as well as to /explicitly stress the Marxist-Leninist nature of our party. The preamble thus contains an ensemble of the ideological principles by which the party guides itself and which define its nature, traditions and goals./

The preamble states that the party bases its operations on the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy, ever striving to consolidate and strengthen its ties to the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and remaining ever subject to control by public opinion. The emphatic stressing of the principle of the bond between the party and the masses is dictated not only by the Leninist science of the role of the party as the vanguard of the working class but also, as ensues from the bitter experiences that have led to the current crisis, by the loss of the nation's confidence in the party.

The Marxist-Leninist nature of our party and its goals also determine such statements in the preamble as "The PZPR is faithful to the idea of communism" and "bases its activities on the creative achievements of Marxist-Leninist science," applying them "in accordance with the "particular requirements and conditions of our country."

It is also clearly stated that the PZPR bases its activities on the most sincere patriotism and loyalty to soc list internationalism, combating nationalism in all its forms.

The preamble emphatically stresses the fraternal ideology of the PZPR and the CPSU and its internationalist bond with all the world's communists.

The preamble mentions the struggle of the nation's progressive forces for freedom and independence, the historic road to People's Poland and the party's role in that respect, and the contribution of the Soviet Union to the smashing of Hitlerism, stating that "only socialism can guarantee the independence and sovereignty of the Polish State."

We read in the Preamble: "The Polish United Workers Party views the alliance between Poland and the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, as well as the other socialist countries, as a prerequisite for consolidating the independence, inviolability of frontiers, and socialist development of our country."

/Despite certain objections voiced--a few only, to be sure--the preamble retains and develops the formula of the guiding and leading role of the party and stresses the need to strengthen and refine it. It states that the PZPR, leading the Polish nation in the building of socialism, operates on the basis of the constitution and the legal system of the People's Republic of Poland, strives to strengthen the Diet and the people's councils, and inspires improvements in the performance of state and economic administration.

/The preamble also contains various other ideological principles which should guide party members. It defines the criteria for and the personal paradigm of the communist, the ideological-educational aims of the party, and the obligations of party elements and echelons in their work with the youth./

Rights and Obligations

/The Congress Commission, on the basis of the evolution so far of the debate on intraparty life and the suggestions received, has supported the need to broaden the rights of party members and define more precisely party obligations and strengthen the position of local party organizations./ This is fully reflected in Chapter I of the draft of the statute, "Party Members, Their Rights and Obligations," and in Chapter IX, "Basic Party Organizations." For the sake of accuracy it should be added that certain formulations in these chapters have been adopted from the statute drafts submitted to the Central Committee.

/The draft of the statute grants the following additional rights to party members:/

--taking an active part in the formulation of the party's program and general line and shaping its policy by formulating suggestions direction to the party congress, and party conferences and echelons;

--presentation and defense of views differing from the position of the majority as regards aspects of party policy and resolutions by party echelons and local party organizations, and defending one's views at the party forum and before the superior authorities;

--criticism and evaluation at party meetings of the performance of not only--as has been the case till now--"every party member and activist," but also of "every party organization and echelon."

In addition there is the new and essential provision that "a party member may not be badgered or drawn to account for party responsibility for his critical comments." Furthermore, there is the broadening of the provision that a party member "has the right not only to be present at the meeting of his local chapter which adopts a resolution evaluating his personal character, performance and behavior, but also at sessions of party authorities which are to adopt a resolution evaluating his personal character, performance or behavior."

There is also the important provision that a party member has the right to submit his opinions and suggestions not only to party echelons but also to the congress.

The statute fixes a 3-month limit on the response of higher level echelons to proposals submitted by party members, organizations, and echelons.

/It appears that the broadening of the rights of party members will positively affect the party activities of party organizations and assure a genuine participation of the entire party in drafting its program "from the bottom up," and that it also will improve the degree to which party members identify with the party program and line./

But while the rights of party members are broadened, it is also thought expedient to define more precisely and broaden certain of their /obligations/ in the draft of the statute. These revisions concern, among other things:

--active participation in the implementation of party resolutions and in the political life of the party and nation;

--advocacy of party policy and propaganda in its favor among nonparty individuals;

--opposition to antisocialist views and actions that undermine the principles of the system and are directed against People's Poland'

--opposition to attitudes violating the statute and ethical-moral standards; the obligation of criticizing and combating evil and injustice in social life;

--increased responsibility of persons making recommendations [for admission to the party].

The forced quantitative expansion of party membership in the 1970s at the expense of qualitative standards has currently led to postulates for a radical tightening of admission standards and to an increase in the responsibility of persons recommending admission. It has been suggested that the age standard be raised from 18 to 21, the period of candidacy be lengthened to 3 years, and the number of references required be increased. To be sure, these suggestions have not been adopted, but still the draft of the statute contains the sharp provision that "persons serving as references bear party responsibility for the ideological-moral and political attitude of the candidate during the period of candidacy. If a person recommends admission for reasons that are frivolous or harmful to the party, he must be ruthlessly made responsible before the party."

/The draft of the statute broadens the rights of the POP, and thereby strengthens their objective role in the party structure./ This can be seen from, among other examples, the party penalties. Para 13 of the statute states that "with respect to party officials at any level, a resolution for party penalty may be adopted by their local party organizations as well as by the committees at the level at which they exercise their functions. Thus granting the POP the right to mete out party penalties to those of their members who belong to higher party echelons (main committee, city section committee, city committee, Central Committee)--a right which, of course, is predicated on confirmation in every individual case by the party committee at the level concerned--represents an allownace for a commonly made suggestion and it greatly strengthens the position of the POP.

The draft of the statute stresses the equality of the rights and obligations of PZPR members regardless of their party functions and position; it grants to everyone the right of criticism, but it also imposes the obligation of criticizing negative phenomena. It clearly defends those subject to criticism and it includes the provision that party penalties also are to be meted out to party members who violate intraparty democracy, suppress discussion and criticism, and fail to react to justified criticism.

Election Principles

/The greatest controversy in the discussions of the statute so far and, I believe, throughout the party as well, has been caused by the issue of voting rights./ The party's rejection of the traditional instructions and practices reducing to "control

from above" of every detail of the electoral process, and to actual usurpation of excessive rights by the higher echelons with respect to lower-ranking echelons and POP, has made topical the need to draft new voting rules within the party and to formulate the basic voting principles in the statute. The inexpert consultations and perturbations that have accompanied successive drafts of these rules, as well as the marked distrust of the Central Committee by the party "grassroots," have prompted many party organizations and provincial congress commissions to demand--with the object of averting any future problems of this kind--the inclusion of truly detailed election principles in the provisions of the statute or the addition of an appendix with election rules as an organic part of the statute.

Team 1 of the Congress Commission has thoroughly considered this problem and fully agreed as to the expediency of isolating in the party statute a new chapter titled "Election Principles." It is proposed that this chapter contain such cardinal election principles, decisive to the whole of party life, as universal /secrecy of balloting at all levels, absence of restrictions/ on the nomination of candidates for authorities and delegates, the principle of rotation, and of not linking party functions to state, public, or economic functions, and the principle of limited rather than indefinite terms of office.

As regards this last issue, two possible versions have been proposed:

/Version 1. "Continuous exercise of functions to which one is elected in the executive organs may last for not longer than two terms of office. In justified individual cases, party conferences have the right to adopt the decision to allow a party official to serve for yet another term of office. After the first term of office, the incumbent may declare himself a candidate for the second term for the same office. Decisions on such matters are taken by a two-thirds majority of votes, by secret balloting.

/"The principle of terms of office is not binding for elected officials at electoral meetings of basic and section party organizations."

/Version 2. "The office of the first secretary of the Central Committee, the province committee, the city committee, the main committee, the main township committee, or the city section committee may be held for no longer than two terms of office. After the first term the incumbent may be a candidate for the second term."

/These two versions indicate that the question of term of office is the most controversial./ Various mutually exclusive proposals have been made concerning this question. It also arouses a lot of emotion which, as it appears, will simmer down only in the future, once the democratic mechanism of elections becomes a natural path for the elimination of unfit candidates and those who do not enjoy the trust of others. It is difficult to judge which version will win. One thing is certain: /rotation is needed,/ but its level should be discussed so that it not be detrimental to the aktiv and not complicate preserving continuity in the party's activities.

Another proposal is that detailed provisions regulating election procedures at a given level should not be included in the statute, and that instead the Central Committee be authorized to determine whenever the need arises, "upon consultation with the party echelons, a detailed set of rules for elections of authorities and delegates."

Let me point out that these /cardinal election principles already underlie the election rules currently obligatory within the party./ The revisions and complementations of these rules introduced at the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee are in accord with the postulates and comments of the party organizations. The resulting new rules regulate--compared with the previous voting instructions--the nature of voting within the party in a very democratic manner./ PZPR members have all the necessary rights to freely develop at meetings and conferences the procedure for the selection of candidates as well as, above all, to determine the composition of their representative authorities./

Analogous voting principles are applied to the election of audit and party control commissions as well as of control-and-audit commissions, and to the selection of PZPR candidates for deputies to the Diet and for members of people's councils. It is proposed that the principles (procedure) for the selection of PZPR candidates for Diet deputies and people's council members be based on specific rules to complement those determined by the Central Committee.

As noted previously, the resolutions and recommendations of many party organizations propose combining the traditional party control commissions with audit commissions so as to strengthen their role in the party. This attitude was also taken by the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee. Without prejudging the final solution of this problem, Chapter X of the draft of the statute proposes an alternative version: either the traditional solution is retained or control-and-audit commissions be set up. Regardless of the variant chosen, however, it is proposed that members of the party-control and audit commissions be elected by the congress and conferences, so as to enhance their importance. Similarly, "the number of members of these commissions at the Central Committee level should be determined by the congress, and at the lower levels--by the party conferences." In addition, wherever needed, "plant party conferences may call into being party control commissions," and analogous principles would apply in the event of the creation of control audit commissions.

By the same token, the draft of the statute incorporates all the suggestions that have been made concerning an independent status for the party-control and audit or control audit commissions at the Central Committee level and their exclusive subordination to the congress. The draft provides for submission of reports by these commissions to the congress and to report-and-election conferences, as well as for the submission of assessments and suggestions based on performance so far to report-and-election conferences and concerned committees.

I believe that I am not mistaken in stating that /another issue just as ardently discussed as democratic elections within the party these days is the issue of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy./ This is in all ways understandable.

That is so because in recent years we have witnessed distortions of this fundamental principle, its one-sided interpretation and abuse of centralism and centralization, which in practice have resulted in the so-called "bureaucratic centralism." From this standpoint, one can understand the "psychological reaction" of certain party activists and POP, which deny the necessity of democratic centralism within the party. This also accounts for the movement of certain party organizations toward the other extreme--toward "absolute democracy," that is, toward anarchy and disregard of party discipline, resolutions, and recommendations. This also accounts for the failure of certain party members and organizations to understand this principle.

But it is difficult to apply this criterion to certain publicists and representatives of the ideological front. The concept of separate treatment of this dialectical formula and the proclamation of slogans that "the party needs democracy before it can have centralism" is not acceptable either. From this statement there is only a step toward deformation in practice and repetition in reverse of the mistakes of recent years.

But the rejection of this principle is not acceptable either, because without it our party would forfeit its organizing power and the ability for ideological influencing. I wish to state, moreover, that /the formula of democratic centralism cannot be applied arbitrarily, because violation of any of its elements is always bound to result in the deformation of not only that formula but all party life and all elements and echelons of the party./

Chapter II of the draft statute, titled "Intraparty Democracy, Democratic Centralism," apparently does take into account the principal directions of the discussions now in progress and skillfully "balances" centralism with democracy, beginning with its title itself. It is in principle a completely rewritten chapter, and it offers more precise definitions of discrete "component standards" of the principle of democratic centralism.

The draft statute states that "The PZPR, its members, and party organizations and echelons and their executive organs base their activities on Leninist standards of party life. The cardinal principles of party life are democratic centralism and intraparty democracy. Their inseparable observance in the practice of party life is an indispensable prerequisite for ideological and political cohesiveness and unity of action of the party."

This prefatory paragraph to that chapter appears to be of fundamental importance. For it stresses the "inseparability" of both principles as the foundation of the party's inner life, and that "inseparability" consistently dominates the contents of that entire chapter.

It is worth noting that the original statute does not mention linkage between these two principles.

/But while the draft statute considers free discussion within the party as a basic form for implementing intraparty democracy and grants to all party members the right of free evaluation and criticism of party policies at meetings and in the party press, it at the same time prohibits abuses of democracy for the sake of schismatic activities and states/ that "all deviations from the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy must be brought to light and eliminated by authorities at every level at which they occur, and the guilty persons must be made accountable."

In view of the universal demand that the party statute provide a precise definition of the concept of factionalism, the draft statute formulates this issue as follows: "Intraparty democracy and freedom of discussion and criticism may not be restrained or limited, but neither may they be utilized for purposes contrary to party policy and ideology or organizational unity. In particular, factional actions resulting in the rise of formalized groups within the party are not per-

missible insofar as they disseminate a different program or political line and different rules of action and insofar as they result in autonomous power centers separate from the statute-defined party authorities.

While the draft statute grants enormous rights to party members, organizations, and echelons, in many places it also points out that free discussion and criticism may not be utilized to weaken the party and undermine its organizational and ideological-political unity.

Party organizations and echelons have the right to signal to higher echelons the need to alter or abandon particular resolutions or decisions, and they also have the right to defend their opinions if those are different from the opinions of the majority, at levels inclusive of the congress, but at the same time they must observe the condition that their activities should "not harm the ideological foundations, general line, and unity of ranks of the party." (Art 23 of the draft statute.)

Party unity is stressed as follows: "Appeals of party organizations and echelons, as well as of individual PZPR members, in defense of positions that differ from the will of the majority and form the decision of the superior authorities, do not exempt them from the duty of implementing democratically adopted resolutions and decisions of immediately superior echelons."

The PZPR in the System of Socialist Democracy

Cahpter IV of the draft statute, "The PZPR in the System of Socialist Democracy," is a new chapter. It tentatively defines, in accordance with actual needs, the place of the party in the system of socialist democracy, and it attempts to answer the question of how the party should--under the new conditions--on the basis of the constitution, exercise its guiding role in the process of socialism building.

This chapter affirms the party's striving toward an absolute observance of the constitution and laws binding in Poland while exercising its guiding role in the state. The chapter also outlines more fully the intermediate forms of translating into reality the guiding role of the party in the nation--via the Diet, the people's councils, and the mass social, self-government, trade union, and youth organizations, as well as the party's influence on the press, culture and education. It is clearly stated that it is the duty of the party to foster the fundamental values of the system, such as the people's legality, civic liberties and freedoms, and social equality and justice.

In carrying out its guiding role, the party affirms its resolute will to abandon the bureaucratic method of intervening into the functioning of organs of state administration and authority and into the activities of social and self-governing organizations. It is stated that party organizations and echelons should respect the organizational autonomy of organs of state authority and administration as well as of social organizations and "not supplant them in the exercise of their statutory functions and tasks."

The party implements its guiding role in the state and society through party members active in the Diet, the people's councils, the National Unity Front, the grade union movement, and the social and self-governing organizations of the working people.

The draft statute further states that in these organizations party members represent the political line of the PZPR and are obligated to represent that line chiefly as regards disputed issues and conflict situations. It is the duty of party members who are trade unionists to advocate party policy and socialist values and attitudes, thus especially supporting the party image, and to advocate political unity as based on the soil of the interests of the workers class and all working people.

This chapter also defines the obligations and tasks of the party press.

Party Apparatus

/The intraparty discussion now in progress has resuled in many demands concerning the party apparatus./ Some of these demands have been reflected in Chapter VI, "Organizational Structure of the Party," which defines the role and place of the party apparatus in the party's activities. Here the operating principle is that to become a member of the party apparatus (that is, a political worker), a party member must have at least 5 years of party membership and professional or occupational activity, must be a party activist, must enjoy considerable public and moral prestige and must be backed by a positive recommendation from his local party organization.

The structure of the party apparatus and the scope of its powers as well as its operating principles and subordination to elected officials is determined by the Central Committee, while the specific tasks of the apparatus subordinate to the appropriate party committees are determined by their executive organs. The general tasks of the party apparatus mentioned in the draft statute include: initiation and organization of the implementation of party policies--the maintenance of direct contacts with the basic party organizations and plant crews. To this end, /employees of the apparatus should be members of POP at labor establishments and institutions./

Drawing the proper conclusions from the past, from the fact that the activities of elected party officials often were supplanted by activities of the party apparatus, the draft statute states that "party committees are the superiors of the party apparatus, which stands at their disposal and is subject to their control and evaluation," and that "employees of the party apparatus may not, unless so authorized, represent elected bodies in the party or act and decide in their name."

The draft statute sanctions the principles concerning the apparatus which were the basis of the recent guidelines of the Politburo concerning the role and tasks of the party apparatus. The guidelines state that /salaried work within the party represents a responsible and civic service to party echelons and organizations as well as to society and as such requires a spirit of lofty ideology and self-sacrifice as well as honesty and sensitivity to social needs./

The fundamental role of the party apparatus, that indispensable factor in an effective functioning of the party, includes:

--provision of party committees and their statutory organs with the indispensable conditions for an objective programming of their activities;

--development, in broad cooperation with the aktiv, of organizing and monitoring work to implement decisions and resolutions;

--conduct of ideological-educational work among party members and independents;

--drafting of evaluations, analyses and proposals for the adoption of decisions;

--dissemination and sharing of valuable experience in party work;

--provision of party echelons with material needed for analysis of cadre policy and evaluation of managerial personnel.

/The principal operating procedure of the party apparatus should be sociopolitical inspiration as well as conviction and persuasion through personal example for the sake of a consistent and disciplined implementation of party policy.

/The structure of the party apparatus and the organization of its work should be maximally adapted to the needs of party echelons, and especially to their tasks with regard to the basic party organizations./ Political workers should integrally participate in the activities of the problem commissions of party echelons, exercising the functions of secretaries and organizers of the work of these echelons.

An increase in the party apparatus of the proportion of blue-collar workers and social activists with production experience is recommended. The employment of new members of the party apparatus should chiefly be accomplished by having the labor establishment grant them leaves for a period of 3 years or equal to the period of exercise of office, which may be prolonged as the need arises.

Approving the commonly voiced postulate, the draft statute adopts the principle that both new and departing members of the party apparatus must make a declaration about their personal income and property.

Other major questions settled by the draft statute as part of the institutional guarantees of intraparty democracy include:

--Determination of the competences of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat, and the first secretary of the Central Committee, as well as of the corresponding lower-level echelons and executive organs.

--The introduction of the principle that the party congress is legitimate if the delegates present represent at least two-thirds of the total number of party members (the original statute specifies one-half).

--Specification of the conditions under which an emergency congress may be convened.

--More precise definition of the principle that the Central Committee may appoint candidate members to vacancies in its membership. Changes in the composition of the Central Committee may not exceed one-fifth of the composition elected by the congress. The number of Central Committee members may not exceed the total determined by the congress.

The above formulations are intended to prevent any possibility of changes in the composition and size of the Central Committee during the periods between party congresses.

--The principle that resolutions on the statute are voted by a two-thirds majority.

As a result of a critical evaluation of the role of (I and II) national party conferences, it was decided to refrain from formulation of that role in the draft statute.

At present it is difficult to foresee the final results of the partywide discussion of the premises of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the draft statute. Some parts of that draft will be ratified and others will be rejected or amended. Nevertheless, I wish to state clearly that the work on the statute so far, and the work on the pertinent revisions, has been and is oriented toward one paramount objective: /the full assurance of the institutional guarantees of intraparty democracy./

The proposed statute changes and solutions should produce positive effects in the sphere of ideological, political and organizational party life. They should assure democratization of the operating style of the party and serve to translate into reality the principles and values of our system (political equality, people's power, legality, freedom of criticism and discussion). The proposed solutions should also assure essential political advantages: the recovery of the party's authority among the people and the recovery of their trust in the party, as well as an increase in the political activity of party organizations and members. The changes and additions introduced into the draft statute should produce indispensable organizational effects, chiefly as regards the ideological strengthening and organizational cohesiveness and operation efficiency of the party. /The principal objective of the proposed changes is an increase in the party's ability to exercise its leading function in the nation./

Recommendations Not Considered for Adoption

The draft statute allows for all the recommendations intended to provide institutional guarantees of intraparty democracy, thereby providing the foundations for basic reforms in the structure and functioning of the party and of the activities of the party echelons and apparatus. It can be stated that Team I of the Congress Commission has adopted a "yes" attitude in its work with regard to every such proposal and recommendation, as reflected in Chapter II of the program premises of the Ninth PZPR Congress and in the draft statute.

At the same time, out of the tremendous number of recommendations, about 20 specific proposals were not considered in the draft statute. It was decided that some of them either lack validity or transcend the ideological-political framework of the PZPR by undermining the nature and fundamental principles of its functioning.

Such recommendations include chiefly the proposal to change the party's name and to relinquish the principle of the leading role of the party as well as democratic centralism. This group also includes the recommendation that the statute should not employ the concept of "ideological principles" and should not define the ideological and world-outlook criterion. As regards the party's attitude toward religion, two extreme and mutually exclusive positions were proposed. One was in favor of the party's adoption of the ideological and world-outlook pluralism

existing in this country. The other called for militant atheism and an excessively principled unambiguous declaration that only persons believing in a materialist world outlook should be party members and that therefore religious adherents should not be admitted to membership. Both positions were deemed unacceptable by Team I.

Several proposals concerning the structure and principles of the party's functioning were of a [too] far-reaching nature. Team I did not approve the proposal for the elimination of committees (plenums) at echelons at all levels and their replacement with working presidiums as well as for the introduction of a continuing mandate for delegates to conferences and the congress. Under that proposal, the party's work at a given level would be directed by the Politburo and executive organs as well as by presidiums and congresses and conferences meeting according to the needs of working sessions. In extreme cases, it was proposed that the congresses and conferences should fulfill a role similar to the current role of the party committees.

Nor has a proposal for defining the functions of the chairman and secretary general of the party been approved. It also does not seem important for the draft statute and the election rules to contain the requirement that the first secretary at every level should be directly elected by meeting, conference, congress. The proposal and the pertinent practice are quite understandable--they stem from the need to bestow on the first secretary at any given level the mandate of total confidence, in the majesty of--it is stressed--direct elections. But the question arises of how does this practice relate to the principle of democratic centralism, collegiality and the subordination of secretaries--including first secretaries--that is, of executive organs, to elected bodies? Then this also raises the question of the relationship between the first secretary at a given level and the corresponding committee which, during the period between the congress and a conference, represents the highest party authority at that level. This also involves the practical question of who is to recall the first secretary from the office he exercises, if the need arises? The plenum which had elected him or a specially convened conference?

As noted previously, the statute is to provide detailed principles concerning voting procedure within the party and especially the principle that candidacy for a higher level position hinges on whether the candidate was "elected by his local party organization" and the absolutely mandatory requirement that only delegates to a conference or congress have the passive and active right to vote. As is known, the voting rules adopted at the Ninth Plenum do not allow for these proposals, although they do recommend restricting to isolated cases the possibility of candidacy to higher party posts by persons who are not delegates to conferences or congresses.

/Recommendations concerning changes in party structure, the shutdown of certain departments, city-section committees, secretariats, and the inclusion of institutional possibilities for the formation of various community problem and cooperation commissions by local party organizations, also have been received, but these issues were thought to be within the scope of competences of the Central Committee and local authorities and hence not requiring mention in the statute./

/I did not consider in this article all of the proposals and recommendations received concerning the party statute. This was simply not possible. On the other hand, I tried to describe as comprehensively as possible the revisions and amendments to the statute./

1386
CSO: 2600/250

QUERIES ON PARTY BUDGET, SALARIES, AND ASSETS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 39-40

/Article by T. K.: "Concerning the Budget, Salaries and Assets of the Party." Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface. Article referred to in paragraph 2 was published in JPRS 78033, 8 May 1981 No 1877 of this series, pp 49-52./

[Text] Problems related to party funds and its assets have been a subject of particular interest among many party organizations for a long time now. This is expressed not only in discussions at party meetings but also in letters to the Central Committee and to our editorial office.

Responding to one of the questions sent to our editorial office, in No 2 of ZYCIE PARTII we presented the structure of the party budget and the designation of revenues from party dues. This necessarily short piece of information failed to satisfy many of our readers. For this reason we are anxious to describe in more detail the financial and material functioning of the party.

As everyone knows, /our party is financing its operations solely from its own revenues/, without using any state subsidies. The party's own revenues consist of /party dues/ and /income from party publications./

Here we must explain right away the first misunderstanding which is expressed for example in an opinion of Comrade /Zbigniew Cwynar/ from Opole Voivodship:

/"...Central Committee publications are ridiculously cheap. For example, the Statute (published in 1977) costs 6 zlotys, ZYCIE PARTII costs 4 zlotys, and NOWE DROGI costs 15 zlotys, and how many brochure-type publications for internal party use are distributed free?... We can imagine that revenues from periodicals are in the red..."/

The misunderstanding consists of the usual lack of familiarity with things, the term "party publications" not meaning concrete titles of party publications or bodies of the Central Committee, or signed periodicals of the Central Committee departments. One party publisher is the Workers' Publishing Cooperative [RSW] "Prasa -- Ksiazka -- Ruch," most of whose

shares are held by the PZPR, which insures RSW's profits will in part go to it./

RSW is an income institution. It is composed of a dozen and some regional publishing houses, a few in the capital city, and also the National Publishing Agency, the Central Photographic Agency, and Ksiazka i Wiedza publishers, and graphics establishments.

The fact is that certain newspaper titles operate at a loss or on the margin of financial profitability, because of their low prices and small numbers of copies printed. /This situation is entirely intentional, because there would be no way to assume that this sort of publication could earn a profit./ RSW's income comes mainly from large-edition publications, illustrated and popular magazines, various sorts of publishing activity (books, calendars, folders, and so on), and printing services.

Hence, in reviewing the "party's own financial revenues," we should realize that one of the main components of this revenue consists of /income derived from the activity of the party publishing institution RSW./

A second component is /membership dues./ Last year revenues from party dues represented about 52 percent of the party's total budget revenues. In the individual party voivodship organizations revenues from dues accounted for between 25 percent and more than 100 percent of the expenditures, except that only a few voivodship party organizations covered their expenditures out of the revenues from party dues.

Here we must point out that /the administration of funds and dues assets of the Voivodship Committee is conducted on the basis of the budget ratified by the Central Committee Secretariate./ Revenues from party dues and income from party publications are collected at the Central Committee and then transmitted in the form of subsidies to voivodship committees and party institutions (party schools) in the amount provided for in the budget document drafted by the Voivodship Committee.

/The voivodship review commissions give an opinion on the budgets of the Voivodship Committees./ In the party the requirement to examine the balance and annual financial report in the Voivodship Audit Committee is strictly followed, and without this the Central Committee will not accept the Voivodship Committee's balance-sheet. [illegible]matic planned auditing of the Voivodship Committee's financial [illegible]omic activity is conducted by the Central Audit Commission (CKK)./

In the final period at the plenary sessions of the voivodship committees (and later at municipal and gmina ones), the Voivodship Audit Committees present detailed information on financial and economic activity in the party, especially with regard to the management of funds from party dues.

Based on absolute numbers, this information gave members of the party a picture of /party revenues and expenditures on the scale of the voivodship party organization./

On the other hand, /revenues and expenditures on the scale of the entire party will be presented by the CKR in the financial-economic report at the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party./ It is to be expected that the congress will also establish a system of period reporting to the party on the status of its assets, which will be very important in completely opening up inner party life.

* * *

/On what does the party spend its financial resources?/ The structure of party budget expenditures can basically be broken down into two categories:

/1. expenditures for meritorical activity:/ organizational, propaganda, and training expenditures and salaries and benefits of political employees who are carrying out the party's political organization activity through their personal participation and attendance at them and organizing the work of the aktiv.

/2. administrative-economic expenditures:/ salaries, benefits of technical-administration employees, office costs, maintenance of party buildings, vehicles, investments, and repairs.

An item of particular interest in the first group of expenditures consists of /salaries of party apparatus employees./ We are including the sizes of salaries of political employees in the local party echelons, as an overwhelming group of party employees. These are the earnings of employees of the apparatus:

Member of the political bureau, secretary of Central Committee	25,900
Secretary of the Central Committee	23,700
First secretary, Voivodship Committee (KW)	
Director of Central Committee Department	19,800
Secretary of the Voivodship Committee	
Deputy director of Central Committee Department	15,400
First secretary of District Committee (KD)	
Secretary of District Committee	11,350
Director of KW Department, Senior Central Committee inspector	10,000-10,200
Deputy director of Voivodship Committee department	
Inspector of Central Committee	8,900
First secretary of Municipal Committee, Municipal-Gmina Committee (KMG), Gmina Committee (KG), Plant Committee (KZ)	8,000-8,500
Secretary of Municipal Committee (KM), KMG, KG	6,300-7,000
Secretary of Plant Committee	7,000-7,200
Inspector of Voivodship Committee	7,200-7,500
Inspector of District Committee or Municipal Committee	5,800-6,500

As the above list shows, the salaries of employees of the party apparatus are not excessive. They fluctuate on the average between 7,000 and 8,000 zlotys on the voivodship scale. Compared to comparable positions in the state administration, especially the economic administration, they are even lower. It should be added here that a certain proportion of the slots are vacant, because possible candidates are discouraged by the size of the salaries. Apparatus employees cannot have any other source of income, and they do not receive any bonuses or periodic awards.

But it is not only the level of salaries that comes into play but also the /working conditions:/ nonstandard working hours, an average of 2-3 hours per day more than in other institutions, often the need to work on holidays, Sundays, and free Saturdays. It must also be explained that the family benefits of employees of the party apparatus are paid in the amount and according to the principles which generally apply throughout the socialized economy, just as the amounts of the per diem for travel costs [travelling allowance], as in other firms are 40 zlotys per day.

* * *

In keeping with the socioeconomic situation of the country /the party also follows the principle of thrift and rational management of financial resources/, especially since during the past few years party budget increases have been insignificant.

The party budget for this year was reduced by about 3 percent, which, given the projected decline in revenues from dues (as the result of the new principles for paying dues) of about 30 percent, explains the need to restrict expenditures greatly. /At the present time financial resources are allocated for the most essential meritorical tasks of the party,/ and repairs, purchases of economic equipment, and so on are restricted.

/The building base/is one of the fronts of the rationalization of the party's assets management. What is this about?

It means the reduction of excessively expanded administrative construction and a shift from the existing processing potential to what the public feels to be wiser investments of an everyday social and living conditions nature, and these moves are and have been the subject of lively discussions in the party organizations and outside of them, as well as many letters directed to the Central Committee.

Rational management in keeping with social expectations of existing and constructed installations was particularly recommended by the Seventh Party Plenum, which obliges administrative officials to make correct decisions on this matter.

/Social expectations concerning the implementation of these decisions also applies to a large extent to existing and new installations of the party echelons./ In keeping with the decision of the Central Committee Secretariate concerning the better utilization of Voivodship Committee headquarters which have been constructed and also of certain installations which represent the headquarters of echelons of the first degree, the Voivodship Committee secretariates have again made a thorough analysis of the previous assignments of buildings currently being constructed and those already in existence, with an eye to their possible better use in terms of the broad social interest.

As the result of these measures /certain Voivodship Committees have already made decisions to change the allocations of a number of installations./ Because of these decisions new facilities of the Voivodship Committees in Biala Podlaska, Ciechanow, Lomze, Ostroleka, Plock, Przemysl, and Zamosc have already been transferred are or in the course of being transferred, for the needs of education and the health service for the most part. Construction has been interrupted for the headquarters of the Voivodship Committees in Gorzow, Krosno, Przemysl, and Zamosc, at the so-called zero state, until better conditions on the investment front exist.

/Certain Voivodship Committees have intensified the density by bringing in others to share the space in their district and municipal committee headquarters (Bielsko-Biala, Gliwice, Katowice, Lodz, Siedlce, Sieradz, and, in part, Lublin and Olsztyn), making their buildings available to municipal authorities. In a number of Voivodship Committees analysis is continueing on the utilization of owned or leased installations used as headquarters of the Municipal Committee and Gmina Committee, in order to make better use of office space. Also located in these buildings will be the headquarters of social organizations and public utility institutions, and the space freed by them, often in residential buildings, is being transferred to the local authorities. Work in this area supervised by the General Department of the Central Committee has not been completed yet in all the voivodships.

We can already say today that /on the question of the building base, the party has faced social expectations and the demands of many groups in the realm of improving the building situation, particularly in the fields of education and medical treatment./

/Even at the cost of making the working conditions of the party apparatus worse, guided by the social interest the party is making decisions which trim its own administrative-office base,/ even with better use of the remaining building space.

10790
CSO: 2600/224

ECO-POLITICAL SOLUTION TO PRESENT SOCIOECONIMIC CRISIS OFFERED

Warsaw WIEZ in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 73-77

[Article by Stefan Malecki-Tepicht: "Instead of a Program"; Portions within Slantlines printed in Italics]

[Text] We have arrived at a particular moment in the life of the country when, facing a social and economic crisis, everyone is asking everybody for a program of a way out. However, no one is prepared to present such a program. As I see it, no one expected a crisis. It surprised the governing as well as the governed. The depth and extent of the working class dissatisfaction which was disclosed was unexpected. So was the method used for warding off the social crisis. However, as it turned out, it is easier to sign an agreement in Gdansk, Szczecin, Jastrzeb and Katowice than it is to fulfill it in everyday life. It is easier to recognize the Independent Autonomous Trade Union Solidarity, but it is more difficult to treat that organization as a partner and joint manager of the country. Why is it thus? It appears to me that we will find a partial answer in the difference of the evaluation and capabilities of the "negotiating" parties to lead the country out of the depth of the economic crisis into which we were driven by the "harmonious and dynamic development" policy of the past decade.

What I would like to share is nothing new, it is not a program. Instead, it is a collection of rules of conduct, a collection of "economic-game principles," the breaking of which has led the country into the bottom of a crisis. However, the adoption of these rules could be the starting point for shaping future economic solutions.

I presented the initial version of this text to the editors of POLITYKA in April or May 1976. It was returned with the comment of one editor stating "that we will not be printing it in the current difficult economic situation." It appears that the current, particularly difficult economic situation is a good time for reminding oneself and others of a few of those truths of political economy theory which Michal Kalecki embodied in his work "Outline of Socialist Economy Growth Theory" as early as 1963.

Unfortunately, the more years that go by since the first edition of Michal Kalecki's book, the greater the lack of understanding of the thoughts which the author included in his work. Many people considered the author to be a "bourgeois economist," a continuator of Keynes, or someone who wanted to describe the entire social

development theory by his concise formula of economic growth. No one familiar with Michal Kalecki's entire output or who knew Michal Kalecki himself has to be convinced of the fact that all of this misses the truth. Those "economists" who announced with glee that the economic practice of the early 70s "resisted" Kalecki's faulty theory need to be passed by with silence.

Thus, the more time passed, the less attention was paid to the subject of the political economy itself, and less was understood of the social consequences hidden in the simple formula of economic growth proposed by Professor Kalecki.

To this day, Michal Kalecki's "Outline of Socialist Economic Growth Theory" is the only economic dissertation which deals fully with the possibilities and growth barriers of the planned economy's development. It is necessary to call attention to the fact that the growth theory presented pertains only to the socialist economy. The following features of the model presented attest to this:

--the defined managing goal, which is the population's individual and collective consumption;
--defined principles of management which are manifested in a full utilization of production factors while maintaining the principle of full employment;
--full utilization of noncapital improvements (for example, organizational, and so forth).

At the very beginning of his work, the author delimits management's goal in socialism, asserting that /two categories can be discerned among the components of national income: Income elements which are a means for increasing that income, or expanded production, hence production investments and an increase in production means; and income elements whose purpose is the creation of national income, that is, investments unconnected with production or collective and individual consumption./ This statement is one of the fundamental assumptions of the socialist economic growth theory. It means, that in circumstances of expanded production, consumption growth occurs in the course of an increase in national income, but--something which is immeasurably important--not every increase in national income evokes an increase in consumption. This is a consequence of the fact that the category of national income also embodies the means and goal of management.

Michal Kalecki proceeded on the assumption that /production accumulation elements--are indispensable for expanded production/. He made the /establishment of a dependence between the increase in national income and those elements/ the subject of his work.

These dependencies embraced the relations occurring between the national income growth rate, the degree of accumulation and consumption. These dependencies expressed in the form of national income growth allowed the author to state, that /the higher the national income growth rate...the higher the participation of production accumulation in national income, and the lower the role of consumption./ Also, that /an increase (in the national income growth rate--footnote by S. M-T) means a decrease in the participation of consumption in the national income, and consequently influences the shaping of consumption negatively over the short run/. The formula of national income growth permits a realistic statement such as: /If we want to attain a specified increase in national income, we must incur a defined

increment in investment outlays/ or also, a realistic negation of that statement: /If we do not sustain a specified investment outlay then we will not attain a specified increase in national income/. It would, however, be false to conclude--on the basis of Kalecki's formula, which states that /if we incur a specified increase in investment outlays, we will obtain a specified increase in national income/. This is a very real difference of the truth and falsehood of concluding from Kalecki's growth formula, because it fully negates those "economists" who tried to present Kalecki's theory--as the result of erroneous conclusions--as an "investment growth model" not much different from Harrod-Somar's models, dual-factored production functions, and so forth.

The second chapter contains a very important sentence which states that /...reproduction expanded at a stable rate does not require a more accelerated investment growth than national income/. This means that there is a situation of socialist economy growth which does not require faster investment growth than national income growth. This statement overturns the mythical dogma of the socialist economy about the need for a speedier increase in the production of production means than in the production of consumption means. Although it was "recalled" many years ago, it governed our economy perfectly for many years.

A starting point of analysis shaping the level and participation of consumption in the national income growth rate is the assumption of a stable growth rate for the economy. This means that factors acting on the national income growth rate increase in the same proportion as national income itself. In addition, the participation of production accumulation is stable. So is the factor of capital outlays (expressing an indispensable increase of investment outlays for achieving national income growth units). Under these conditions, the role of consumption versus income is also stable. The author asserts and substantiates that the process of a uniform increase in national economy determines a stable growth rate of employment. From this we obtain an identical stipulation with respect to the growth rate of national income being a quotient of the level of investment and that the coefficient of capital outlays is identical with the sum of the labor efficiency growth rate and the employment growth rate. This identity describes the ideal state of the economy, a condition which is fully equalized, an economy which fully exploits accessible factors for the creation of national income, an economic condition not restricted by development barriers.

The reality, however, is different, thus far, the socialist economy has never attained a state of equilibrium, production factors are not fully exploited and impediments to development appear with excessive frequency.

It is precisely such situations of unequal development which Michal Kalecki examines in the ensuing portions of his work. Each state of inequality requires accelerated growth in national income. The author examines three such situations under the following conditions:

--an unlimited work force reserve (trend to assure a condition of full employment);
--the need to maintain foreign-trade balance equilibrium (export expansion or anti-import production);
--lack of work force reserves (which requires an increase in labor efficiency).

An economy defined in these terms requires an acceleration of the national income growth rate in every case. Acceleration of an increase in national income takes place either through an increase in the level of production accumulation or through an increase in the capital outlay factor. In both of these cases, a drop soon occurs in the participation of consumption in national income. Therefore each acceleration of the income growth rate occurs in current consumption at the expense of the population.

In these circumstances, Kalecki always sought such a national income growth rate which in a defined time period ("transitory period" of passage to a higher degree of accumulation, or in a "period of transforming the production apparatus into a higher capital-outlay") would be accomplishing the basic goal of the socialist economy--an increase in the population's consumption. Thus, in an accelerated growth process /the decision with respect to the national income growth rate will be a compromise between the negative effect of a higher rate on the near future and a positive one on the distant future/.

The basic instrument of the evaluation of this compromise--introduced by Kalecki for studying the shaping of the consumption level under the influence of national income growth rage acceleration--is "the government decisions curve." The government decisions curve in the author's words, /only illustrates the relationship of the government toward sacrificing the present to the future/. The government decisions curve, is nothing other than an attempt to evaluate the selection of the moment at which it is still profitable to bear the cost of the "losses" of current consumption on behalf of the "gains" of consumption growth over the long range.

Kalecki's economic growth formula, is a "consumption growth model" and not an "investment" model as some economists wanted (and presented it as). For it is the kind of model of socialist economic growth whose final goal is the preservation of the population's consumption from voluntaristic desires of the authority to accelerate the socialist economy "at any cost" something for which we are paying to this day.

The aim of the socialist economic growth theory presented by Kalecki is the resolution of the contradiction embodied in the definition of national income--the inconsistency between consumption and accumulation. This theory is an attempt to resolve the contradiction of today's "losses" and tomorrow's "gains." The theory of socialist economic growth is a dynamic theory of undertaking decisions pertaining to the final distribution of the national income. It is a theory in which the decisionmaker must look for such values of the means of implementation--productional accumulation--as will maximize the function of the socialist economy's goal, that is, consumption in the broad sense of that word.

At that moment, when the problem of the final distribution of national income comes into play, it becomes clear that the economy is not only an object of quantitative dependences between individual elements creating the national income. The economy is a social science, a political science. That means a social science, which points to a social conditioning of choices between "goals" and management "means," choices between the present day's "losses" and tomorrow's "gains." And that is precisely what Michal Kalecki's model of socialist economy growth is, a model which points to the direct social effects of the state of the economic imbalance, the effects on

action by a variety of development barriers, the results of accelerating the national income growth rate--the results expressed in shaping the participation-consumption level of the country's population.

The breaking of all principles--something we were witnesses to in the past decade--the breaking of the principles of social order between the governed and governors, and the breaking of management principles was the basic source of the political and economic crisis which now confronts us.

If this is so, then every effort and program proposal for ending the crisis should, first of all, define the social and economic "rules of the game," and rules of conduct for governors and governed. Both sides recorded society's rules of conduct in the agreements in Gdansk, Szczecin, Jastrzeb and Katowice. Among others, the principles of management conduct are outlined in Michal Kalecki's "Outline of Socialist Economy Growth Theory." Let the independent and autonomous social organizations be a guarantor that these principles will not be violated in the future.

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DISCIPLINARY, BEHAVIORAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN ARMED FORCES

Formation of Discipline

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 80 pp 9-17

[Article by LCDR Wladyslaw Maj and LCDR Marian Moneta, engineer]

> [Text] Our young contemporary soldier fulfills his patriotic duty well. He is the son of a Polish family; he has been trained in a Polish, socialist school, factory and youth organization. The steeling and enrichment of his personality is a constant task and a grave responsibility. (from an address delivered by the national defense minister, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Eighth PZPR Congress)

It is demonstrated in practice that a high level of discipline may be achieved only be means of the application of various types of preventive-training measures. Thus the sphere of training activity becomes most complex and multileveled. It is determined by numerous factors, particularly those which are political, social, sociological, mental and environmental. Favorable results may be achieved only through activity which is constant, multileveled and suitably integrated. This is a long-term, continuous process which requires the consistent enactment of legal regulations, military regulations and orders and current instructions under ever-changing and new training conditions which necessitate the making of decisions concerning the internal acceptance by the trainee of the tasks assigned him as well as his most concrete personal involvement. The reality which makes up a given disciplinary state undergoes continuous transformation. This problem dictates the need for the constant revelation and research of the changes occurring in the factors which make up or influence the quality and level of discipline. An important element here is the ability to predict the occurrences of specific negative phenomena in the disciplinary sphere which makes possible the early counteraction of such phenomena.

In the Navy Communications Unit, not only do we prefer to take action to liquidate the specific causes and factors which have brought about the occurrence of negative phenomena, but we also prefer to direct our tasks toward liquidating the symptoms of our ills, toward nipping them in the bud before they turn into an offense, a crime or an uncommon occurrence. The foundation of success in this sphere is a thorough knowledge of subordinates and a favorable atmosphere in the

service. Systematic familiarity with subordinates is the point of departure and the foundation of the organization of any sort of training activity in our unit. The professional cadre aspires constantly to learn the ideological-political and moral-social values of subordinates, the motives of their behavior and their plans for their own lives, their capabilities, interests and predilections, their habits and their customs. Superiors must be aware of character traits, family and material conditions, as well as other factors influencing the views, attitudes, convictions and behavior of trainees. For it is in coming to know them that we may have the proper effect on all aspects of their personality development as well as on the formation of disciplined attitudes among them.

One of the ways of learning about trainees is to do a thorough analysis of the personal records of each subordinate. In these records may be found such data relating to various manifestations of former behavior, the achievements of the sailor in school and on the job, information specifying his skills, capabilities, level of socialization and the like. While the data described in these records include much information about subordinates, nevertheless they are not enough. For this reason, all superiors who work directly with people in our unit conduct a pedagogical observation of the behavior, the conduct and the way of acting of subordinates.

Practice has shown that individual conversation is an effective method of learning about the state of mind and the sense of physical and mental well-being of subordinates, as well as about their personal problems and concerns. It is also possible during a pedagogical conversation to come to know him as an individual and to exert influence on the formation of the trainee's personality.

It is difficult to set up an exact list of all of the methods which are of assistance for effectively learning about subordinates. Every military teacher, to the extent that he has gained experience in his work with people, will look for new solutions in this area. In their daily pedagogical work with subordinates, military teachers in our unit try to familiarize themselves with:

- -- the personal data of the subordinate;
- -- the general character of the social environments in which the subordinate received his upbringing (the family circle, the school environment, his friends, his work environment and his military environment);
- -- the state of the subordinate's health (illnesses and injuries he has suffered, stays he has had in hospitals and sanatoriums, family illnesses and the like);
- -- the conviction he holds based on his world view (his relationship to the surrounding reality, his ideological-political position, his ideological-moral commitment, the effect of the military environment on the formation of the sailor's world view);
- -- the proficiency of the subordinate's intellectual functions (his ability to commit to memory rapidly and retain program material, his skill in the quick recognition of abstract symbols and in working with these symbols, his skill in accurately evaluating a situation and conducting himself in new conditions, his ability to grasp new material "rationally" and the like);
- -- the character traits of the subordinate (his sense of duty, systematic nature, sense of punctuality, self-discipline, amicability and developed sense of responsibility;

-- personal matters with reference to the subordinate (civilian status, form of contact with closest relatives, opinion of family life and bringing up children, the problems and personal concerns confronting the sailor as he fulfills basic military service).

Properly interpreting the above data on subordinates, the professional cadre attempts to find answers to the following questions for the purpose of applying effective methods of exerting pedagogical influence on trainees:

1. From what sort of sociocultural environment does the sailor come? Did this environment leave him with any psychic traumas (caused, for example, by parental separation at an early age, alcoholism in the family, by hereditary burdens, or conditioned by other circumstances)?
2. What was the effect of environmental conditions on the physical and mental development of the sailor?
3. What is the state of his intellectual development, the character of his speech, his vocabulary? How is he expected to manage with the mastery of the obligatory program of schooling in his given specialization and in what areas will he need guidance and individual help?
4. Is there any suspicion that he has feigned or concealed some sort of illness (and what is a probably reason for such behavior)?
5. What are the concerns, worries, experiences and personal affairs of the sailor that may have a negative effect on the course of his basic military service?
6. What are the subordinate's ideological values and his moral outlook and consequent values?
7. What are the subordinate's capabilitieis, interests and character traits?
8. Is he responsive to the influence of his surroundings? Will he also influence the environment in which he finds himself (the likelihood of making use of his abilities for schooling-training and cultural-educational work in the unit?
9. Do the personality traits which have been formed in the subordinate enable him to adapt rapidly to a new environment, or will he take a long time to adapt because of his personality? Is he threatened with rejection by the subunit group?
10. Will it become necessary to give him special guidance and help (in what fields, and how should the party organization and the youth organization be used to this end)?
11. Is it necessary to seek counsel from a doctor, lawyer, psychologist or higher superior in matters relating to the sailor, and how should these problems be approached?

Knowledge of subordinates thus specified is a necessary condition for successful training in the unit. If one knows the subordinate well, it is possible to have the proper influence on him, to eliminate shortcomings in his professional preparation, dispel moments of distruct, clear up various misunderstandings, smooth over conflicts and have an effect on the development of internal and external discipline. The professional cadre of our unit also keeps in mind the fact that information obtained by way of learning about trainees cannot be a factor conditioning the superior's attitude to the subordinate. In accordance with the prescribed model for the formation of socialist interpersonal relations, we accept each newcomer to the navy unit wholeheartedly, regardless of the information we have about his past.

On the other hand, all data about the subordinate relating to who he was, what he did formerly and what his former training consisted of, are used, without any sort of prejudices, only as guides to offer the subordinate every kind of assistance to adapt quickly to the conditions of military service in the unit.

The leaders of crews, squads and platoons must have a thorough knowledge of their subordinates, having at their disposal such file information as the service list, social background, residence before entering the service (village, town), civilian status, education, occupation and the type of work done in civilian life and organizational affiliation. Data concerning the family situation and the environment in which the sailor lived before being called into service are likewise of importance. It should be determined whether the subordinate has both parents living, whether he is an orphan or partly orphaned, where his parents live, what their occupations are, what their material circumstances are and the like. A familiarity with the basic personality traits of subordinates is also indispensable. It must be known whether the particular sailor is conscientious, diligent, whether he has a deep sense of responsibility, whether he is precise, whether he may be depended on and whether he quickly grasps what his superior intends. We must be certain that he will inspire confidence, that he will have a good influence on others, that he is active, persevering, self-possessed and that he will be willing to become involved in social work. It may become apparent that the subordinate is a carefree person, a rascal who shuns work at every turn and the like. Among the negative personality traits of a subordinate are included the following: indifference to achieving good results, a fondness for debating orders and requests, a lack of enthusiasm and perserverance, imprecision, the need to be supervised, breaking down in the face of difficulties, a lack of self-possession, sometime irresponsibility and, ultimately, secretiveness, underhandedness and becoming angry and irritated without reason.

An essential matter in the training process is the knowledge of the sailors' abilities and their particular interests. The level of general knowledge of each sailor must be known, his progress in school must be traced and the following questions must be answered: is he an outstanding student, a member of the DSS [Socialist Service Team] or a class specialist? What sort of difficulties will he encounter in political and military training? What is his general level of discipline? What sort of distinctions has he merited, and for what? What offenses has he committed, who meted out his punishment, what kind of punishment did he receive? What are his good and bad tendencies?

The leaders of companies and their deputies are obliged to have a good knowledge of the leaders of platoons and professional noncommissioned officers, i.e., of their personal data, their family situation, positive and negative character traits, talents and interests, leadership and teaching abilities, their level of involvement in training work, the results they have achieved and the difficulties they have encountered, their party functions and their involvement in party work, both youth work and social work.

Superiors at the company level are obliged to have a knowledge of the quantity and quality of outstanding students, class specialists, DSS leaders and PZPR members and candidates among the sailors and basic service noncommissioned officers, of board members of ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] circles, aktivs of K.O. [cultural-educational] companies and the makeup of the arbitration board. An

indepth knowledge of subordinates is one of the basic factors of success in training activities in the field of forming disciplined attitudes.

Another problem is a favorable service atmosphere, i.e., suitable interpersonal relations among all participating groups. We attach primary significance to the matter of the formation of interpersonal relations in all participating groups, modeling them after socialist models.

Over 2 years ago, a comprehensive model for the formation of the proper interpersonal relations in the unit was developed and introduced. It comprises the whole system of training steps for unit leaders, subunit leaders, party and youth organizations and the other social agents whose role it is to create and strengthen a favorable, just, and at the same time, sympathetic atmosphere within each organizational cell, an atmosphere which fosters the greatest productivity in work and service and guarantees the proper living and cultural conditions for the formation of the soldier's personality and for the regeneration of his psychophysical powers.

The implementation of the model for the formation of the proper interpersonal relations during the young sailor's period of adaptation to military service is based, among other things, on:

-- the instructional-methodological preparation of the leaders of squads, platoons and companies to admit recruits in the appropriate manner and to ensure a model training organization for them from their first day in the unit. To this end, instructors' methodological courses are organized;
-- the holding of explanatory sessions with sailors of senior groups in order to counteract the tendencies toward dividing sailors into "senior" and "junior" classes, to exclude new sailors from being unjustifiably burdened with excessive duties, to mobilize sailors in senior groups to treat those newly incorporated in a friendly way, offering them advice and help, in this way bringing about the formation of the proper interpersonal relations in the unit from the first day of incorporation. This task is implemented by means of meetings of the older sailors, meetings of ZSMP circles, individual conversations with squad leaders and the like.
-- the cordial welcoming of recruits into the unit. A representative of the unit leader for political affairs personally hands the first recruit a bouquet of flowers of a book at the barracks gate as he wishes him a pleasant stint of military service within the unit;
-- the holding of individual conversations with all newly incorporated sailors independent of the work of the admissions committee;
-- meetings of the leaders of the unit with recruits during the first 2 days of their stint in the service, at which the leader discusses the character, traditions and tasks of the unit and then introduces the new sailors to their superiors. Then the representative of the unit leader for political affairs discusses the duties and rights of sailors, characterizes the conditions of one's adapting properly to military service and the implementation of the forms of preventive-training work in conjunction with this;
-- the organization of a meeting with the participation of the unit KP [Communist Party] secretary and the head of the ZSMP board during the first days of service for the purpose of familiarizing the sailors with the principles of operation of the party organization and the youth organization in the military, with the rights and duties of sailors and with the manner of investigation of service and personal affairs;

-- a meeting of the representative of the unit leader for political affairs with recruits on the 10th day of service for the purpose of orientation with the current mood of the recruits. At this meeting the opinions of the sailors are heard with reference to their acceptance into the unit, the conditions of service and training and the principles of life in the collective. Suggestions are made and personal requests are taken;

-- the sending of a letter to the family of the recruit on the 20th day of service together with an invitation to his oath-taking; the invitation is, at the same time, a pass to enter the territory of the unit;

-- the festive acceptance of sailors directed into subunits upon taking their oath or coming from training centers. To this end, the leader of the subunit organizes a soldiers' meeting at which he introduces the new arrivals to the leaders of platoons and squads and discusses the duties of the newly arrived sailors;

-- the assignment of guardian sailors to new sailors during the first week of their stint in subunits and to sailors who have completed their basic training, for the purpose of offering them help to familiarize themselves with equipment and arms, to rapidly master a military specialization and to ensure the proper coexistence of sailors of the various classes, in accordance with the motto "A soldier is to another soldier a brother, a friend and a comrade in arms." The guardians of the junior sailors are designated by the ZSMP circle of the given subunit from among the best sailors of the senior class who represent those military specializations which the junior sailors are to master;

-- the granting of a cultural pass to sailors during the first week of their stint following their oath-taking. During this leave, sailors spend their time in an organized fashion; the sailor takes the leave in the company of the guardian, who familiarizes him in detail with the cultural monuments and centers of the garrison;

-- the festive passing of junior sailors into the signal corps at the time that they acquire their military specialization. The show takes place according to a special ceremony in which elements of naval traditions, the military specialization and certain elements of healthy navy humor are exhibited. Each sailor who becomes a sailor-signaller receives a diploma and is given a special name. These ceremonies which have the purpose of creating a sympathetic atmosphere, are continued in the other stages of the service. Thanks to them, we become acquainted with the soldier's personality, we season it and enrich it, and it becomes easier to select the proper forms of training activity.

Implementation of the model for the formation of socialist interpersonal relations during the course of the further military service of sailors and noncommissioned basic service officers is based, among other things, on the following:

1) Planned organized conversations with subordinates are conducted by superiors from the squad leader to the unit leader inclusive, according to an established frequency. Depending on their purpose, the character of these conversations is either of the personality familiarization type, in which the superior learns the biopsychosocial sphere of the formation of the subordinate's personality, or of the preventive-training type, conducted as the need and the situation warrant.
2) Periodical meetings of leaders with subordinates are organized, independently of service briefings, in the form of "question-and-answer evenings" and sailors' meetings at which the proper atmosphere is created to foster the free expression of the sailors' feelings about coexistence in the collective and living conditions, as well as to encourage appropriate suggestions and proposals in this area.

3) A festive air is lent the the celebration of the sailor's 20th birthday, by means of greetings conveyed to him by the subunit leaders at the morning call. He also has his dinner together with the company chief at a specially prepared table.
4) A confidential telephone and booth are available. This makes it possible for the sailor to express himself freely on all sorts of matters relating to his life in the service and to his own person, even the most intimate questions.
5) The practice of granting daily sailors' passes while, at the same time, maintaining combat readiness, has been implemented. The ZSMP has taken on the patronage of this matter. The effect of the use of this system is that:

a) there are no privileged soldiers; each has the right to be granted passes. On certain days, married sailors have priority (e.g., 8 March) or on the sailor's wife's name day or birthday. On these days the sailor carries a symbolic flower for his wife as he takes his leave;

b) a sailor is able to leave his quarters within 10 minutes, since his pass is placed into the pocket of his exit uniform, which is hung in the closet. When the company chief or the noncommissioned squad officer gives the sailor his uniform, he is immediately in possession of the pass which allows him to leave his quarters;

c) the incidence of unlawfully taken leaves has been eliminated. In such subunits as that of Lt Waldemar Kornatowski and LCDR Jozef Szczesniak, in which the leaders of these subunits and the sailors' collectives pedantically implement the principle of the daily granting of passes, the phenomenon of unlawfully taken leaves was not noted in 1979.

6) Farewells to sailors going into the reserves are made in a festive manner. The unit leaders participate in the celebration, and a common soldiers' dinner is given. The unit leader presents awards to the best sailors of this body, as well as a picture against the background of the standard; a copy of this picture is placed in the traditions room of the unit.
7) Outstanding students of training and outstanding subunits are vigorously applauded. Whenever a more important task is completed, the outstanding sailors and subunits are singled out. This produces results in, and has the primary effect of, encouraging sailors to serve and work more efficiently. It also mobilizes them to compete with each other. Thanks to this, subunit captain Jerzy Regula, who was in next to last place in the 1978 competition, captured first place in the unit in 1979. This subunit won first place over the company that had held first place in the unit for 3 years, thus attesting to the fact that there are no favorites in the competition.

The socialist character of interpersonal relations is of the most essential significance within the whole picture of military life, and in particular as includes the sailors' collective and the further integration of the whole group. The professional cadre plays a special role in the formation of this socialist character. Thus, the model for the formation of the proper interpersonal relations within the unit is comprised of a series of undertakings which include, above all, the following:

-- the admittance by the unit leader of graduates of military academies, higher officers' schools and standard bearers' schools, as well as of career noncommissioned officers and professional soldiers entering the service from other units. At this meeting, the unit leader familiarizes the newly arrived sailors with the traditions, specific character and tasks of the unit, he introduces his deputies and the secretary of the party committee of the unit. Next he discusses the duties of the new arrivals at the stations entrusted to them and also provides information

concerning the social-living and cultural-recreational situation in the unit and garrison. The deputy of the unit leader for political affairs speaks on the principles and methods of party-political activity in the unit and points out the necessity for personally taking part in such activity;

-- the introduction of the newly arrived professional soldiers at a briefing of the whole professional cadre;

-- the designation of social guardians for the newly arrived professional soldiers from among the best officers, standard bearers and professional noncommissioned officers, if possible from their particular groups, from the same age bracket and from the same military specialization. The party unit committee selects the guardians, and the list is published in the daily order. The first meeting of the guardians and their charges takes place in the traditions room of the unit;

-- periodically (once each quarter) separate meetings of the unit leadership with each of the surrounding groups, i.e., officers, standard bearers and professional noncommissioned officers, for the purpose of evaluating their work and for hearing out their opinions and the current attitudes to the service, to living conditions and to the principles of coexistence. At these meetings the cadre is given the opportunity to express their opinions;

-- the organization of recreational weekends (Saturday-Sunday) at a lakeside facility, group games, cross-country rallies and hiking, bicycling and canoeing trips;

-- professional soldiers who have particularly distinguished themselves are assigned outside of the regular service billeting order and this fact is made known to the whole cadre;

-- periodical meetings of the unit leadership with the families of the professional cadre with the participation of the ORW [Military Dependents Organization] held to inform wives of the work problems of their husbands, to listen to suggestions, observations and proposals.

We are taking various training measures in our preventive-training work in the field of the formation of discipline, as we noted at the beginning of this article. The basis of this work and of its effective operation, however, is a precise knowledge of subordinates and a favorable atmosphere in the service. Thanks to the implementation of our preventive-training activity thus understood, for several years we have not noted the crimes, the uncommon occurrences and the other negative phenomena that arose due to a lack of discipline. It should also be pointed out that the method of evaluating discipline used at the subunit and detachment level which was developed in our unit several years ago, was then introduced and has been tested in our daily life, has become a primary element in the working out of the "Guidelines of the Head of the WP [Polish Army] GZP [Main Political Directorate] No 8, dated 23 October 1978 Concerning the Periodical Evaluation of the State of Discipline in the Subunit and Detachment." This gives us great satisfaction.

Crime, Other Misbehavior

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 3, Mar 81 pp 108-112

[Article by Lt Dr Wlodzimierz Kubala]

[Text] Crime is a social phenomenon. Consequently, as we look for the causes of crimes, let us turn our attention in the direction of the concrete social systems

and the interdependency of people operative within these systems. Such systems and such interdependencies also occur in the military. In fact, because of the purposes and nature of the armed forces and the high level of organization of military life, the number of systems and interdependencies is particularly great.

In order to ensure the proper functioning of social relations, every society, the military included, produces a system of arrangements for controlling the behavior of its members. It sets up institutions which define rights and duties and it introduces rules and prohibitions, the violation of which causes the meting out of reprimands, penalties and the like. Disciplinary rules and rules of military order play an especially important role in the military. Military discipline fulfills the function of a binding agent firmly cementing the efficiency and the effective operation of individual soldiers, subunits and detachments. It is the foundation of military life; it is of value politically, since it creates conditions for the effective operation of schooling-training and economic activity and marks the state of combat readiness of the armed forces.*

A strict adherence to the principles of military discipline and legal order is a fundamental condition for the elimination of uncommon occurrences and crimes from military life. As stated in the regulations of the domestic service, a soldier has the duty to be disciplined, to strictly adhere to the established military order and to the tenets of military regulations, as well as to execute the orders of superiors without reserve, precisely and on time, and in certain situations specified in the regulations, likewise the orders of higherups in military rank (Point 10). As a disciplined citizen, the soldier is subject to the dispositions of the officials of authority and of the state administration. At the summoning of the officials responsible for the maintenance of order, the soldier is obliged to offer assistance in accordance with his powers and abilities to do so (Point 16).

In practice it is demonstrated that most soldiers fully comply with the provisions of the regulations, executing their service duties in a model fashion, not sparing efforts to increase their effectiveness as soldiers while at the same time strengthening the combat readiness of subunits and detachments. Military units in which such attitudes are the predominant phenomenon do not note an increase in the number of uncommon occurrences and crimes. Such occurrences and crimes occur wherever the priority in the establishment of rules governing soldiers' conduct is not an interest in serving, not a cult of the worth of the group, but private interests and individual values; they occur wherever wrongdoing and all of its manifestations are not counteracted, but are justified or tolerated.

It is the duty of superiors, functionaries and officers of senior rank not only to set an example of strict adherence to regulations and order, but moreover to maintain discipline among subordinates and junior soldiers, to prevent the appearance of conditions engendering violations of rules and the like. A superior or a senior officer who does not react in time to the inappropriate behavior of subordinates or junior soldiers, who expresses indifference to manifestations of wrongdoing,

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* Taken from the program for the strengthening of discipline in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, Warsaw 1976, and from the session of the MON [Ministry of National Defense] Military Council, dated 14-16 April 1976.

tolerates it or does not use the appropriate means to restore discipline and military order is held responsible and is penalized.

In particular, a senior officer should positively counteract the commission of crimes by subordinates of a lower rank, he should fight against conditions which engender crimes and uncommon occurrences and he should not pass over any instance of the violation of the law. Any extraordinary occurrence of crime should immediately be reported to the superior and the perpetrator of the crime should be caught redhanded or he should be pursued and turned over to the proper authorities (Article 205 of the Code of Criminal Procedure).

Military prosecutors appreciate the worth of the preventive measures which have been taken thus far, as well as the degree of involvement of officers at all levels, officers of the party-political apparatus, and members of party organizations and youth organizations in operation in the military, in these measures. At the same time, they are counting on an increase in this involvement. Such are the needs issuing from the tasks set down by the military directorate. This is a basic party and military duty.

The phenomenon of crime in the military may be understood in terms of the manifestation of the causes of crime in general. The sources of many crimes are similar, and even the same, regardless of whether the perpetrator is a soldier or a civilian (for example, acts of hooliganism, crimes against one's property committed for the purpose of obtaining material goods). The phenomenon of crime in the military is moreover, a factor of the manifestation of the causes which are typical for military relations. Consequently, for example, in conjunction with the compulsory principles of the hierarchical subordination of soldiers, there arise conflict situations in the contact of superiors vs. subordinates, senior vs. junior ranks and officers vs. enlisted men. In conjunction with weaponry and technical military equipment, there is also the risk of danger to life and health in the event of the use of weapons or equipment in a manner for which they are not designated. The tasks facing the armed forces demand the constant presence of soldiers in the unit and the maintenance of their psychophysical efficiency in a state of constant readiness. They also impose the necessity for maintaining discipline among all soldiers, subunits and detachments. The colliding of the demands and interests of military service with the personality traits of the young soldier, traits which are not yet fully formed, often foster the creation of tensions and conflicts which find their outlet in aggressive behavior (acts of assault, violations of the inviolability of the body and the like), in deliberate absences without leave and the like.

Among the crimes most often committed by soldiers are crimes against one's obligation to fulfill military service, traffic crimes, and crimes against life, health and property. Crimes against disciplinary principles and acts comprised of the usurpation of one's rights with regard to subordinates also play a role. Among the most serious of extraordinatry occurrences are accidents with fatal consequences.

Military prosecutors are engaged not only in the prosecution of crime but also, within the framework of criminal behavior and in the course of controlling the observance of the law, in discovering its causes and unearthing all of the

circumstances leading to and accompanying criminal behavior. Thanks to this, we can be more effective in counteracting crime, not only fighting against it after it has been committed, but also preventing its incidence.

Let us take a closer look at the most important causes of the crimes most often committed by soldiers.

Deliberate absences without leave are taken, as a rule, by undisciplined soldiers. Their lack of social discipline has manifested itself since before they entered the military service (in their home, at their place of work). It has become evident from criminal cases and much research that their carelessness as students, the negative character traits and asocial attitudes formed in them before they entered the service as well as psychopathological factors are the basic sources of their difficulties in adapting to the conditions and demands of military life, and as a consequence, the causes of committing this type of crime (two-thirds of the perpetrators of these crimes are persons who manifest various types of personality disorders). These crimes are fostered by the negative influence of the civilian section of the soldier's environment, the occasional abuse of alcohol, particularly during a leave or a holiday, the belief of the perpetrators of these crimes that they will be punished for their actions only through disciplinary measures, in many instances the inappropriate fulfillment of domestic service, the lack of sufficient control over soldiers by the direct superiors, shortcomings in disciplinary practice and the sometimes improper organization of free time.

It is believed that traffic crimes are an unavoidable consequence of mass motorization. This is only partly true. The experiences of other nations in this area in no way confirms the thesis that the number of automobile accidents and catastrophes must grown in proportion to the increase in the number of motor vehicles.

While the increase in the number of private vehicles has not been without its effect on the statistics regarding traffic crimes, other causes and circumstances are also of crucial significance here. In practice it is shown that traffic accidents are most often a consequence of speeding, intoxication, failure to yield the right of way and improper passing or weaving. As is evident, it is not so much the mass development of motorization that is the reason for traffic accidents but insufficient qualifications, shortcomings in the area of building firm habits of cautious and safe driving, a lack of foresight in the area of the temporal-spatial conditions of traffic, a lack of proper supervision by administrative officials and a lack of familiarity with the real consequences of the effect of alcohol on the human body.

Crimes against life and health are closely interwoven with the phenomenon of alcohol abuse and with the lack of resistance to provocatory behavior by private citizens. Various types of entertainment (e.g., parties) foster such crimes, as do shortcomings in the area of the supervision and organization of free time. The subjective element in the form of the tendency toward aggressive behavior which characterizes individuals who have a conflicting or explosive nature or who are maladjusted socially is also of some significance.

The final group of typical crimes is crimes against property. This is a group which yields with particular difficulty to all sorts of preventive and resocialization efforts. Among the causes of assaults broadly understood against social and private property (theft, robberies, breakins and receiving stolen goods) is the desire to gain material benefits, most often for the purchase of alcohol. This is a kind of factor of a subjective nature, the overcoming of which is very difficult. Its consequences produce unfavorable repercussions for the military among society. Robberies, theft together with breaking and entering, and theft perpetrated in a violent manner are among the particularly threatening crimes in this area. Assault on society property is no less of a threat. Most often money, engine fuels and lubricants, supply materials and construction materials become the booty of thieves. Experience has shown that, among the circumstances which foster these crimes, the primary factor is the lack of adequate supervision and control of employees, faulty security of property and equipment and the careless recordkeeping of those entering and leaving.

The many studies of prosecutors have shown that infringements upon the prescribed order, the lack of effective control and supervision by officials of the soldiers under their charge, as well as the failure to discharge one's duties in the area of the protection and security of property and equipment and the careless organization of work and training are circumstances which engender crime among soldiers.

Military prosecutors have often made the results of their observations known to the appropriate authorities. A subject of particular interest among military prosecutors has been the state of adherence to the regulations which specify the duties of officials in the area of the supervision and control of military order. As a result of the research activities undertaken in this regard, prosecutors have established, among other things, that:

-- in some units, the scope of the duties of officials is defined in a faulty manner;
-- not all officials adequately fulfill the duty of controlling the work sections and the subordinates under their jurisdiction (this is in regard to financial services, food services, uniform service as well as internal security and guard duty);
-- in the area of internal security and guard duty, regulations are not always strictly and rigorously adhered to; failings in service and the like are not reacted to in a firm manner.

It is disturbing that sometimes, after the prosecutor has established the facts in a case of violation of the prescribed order and has informed the proper superior to this effect, the appropriate remedial measures are not taken. For example, the prosecutor reports that the windows in the oil warehouse are without grilles. The garrison leadership informs the prosecutor that the particular warehouse has wire mesh in the windows. Meanwhile, successive inspections show that the windows continue to be unsecured. The transmission of incorrect information to the prosecutor makes it necessary to approach higher level superiors in order to initiate disciplinary proceedings against those who are guilty of not fulfilling their service obligations and of deceiving the prosecuting official.

In the concern over reducing the numbers of crimes and uncommon occurrences, the public prosecutor's office has prepared and disseminated a paper on the disclosure of the causes of such phenomena and on the elimination of their sources entitled "A Collection of the Circumstances Engendering the Appearance of the Most Frequently Occurring Uncommon Accidents in the Military." Practice has verified the usefulness of this paper. It has become evident that, on the basis of the recommendations contained in this document, many units have successfully counteracted the phenomena of tolerating wrongdoing and have corrected many ills in the area of reaction to the lack of military order in cases of alcohol abuse and faulty disciplinary practices. However, major changes for the better have not been observed everywhere. In such units, the contents of the above document have not been assimilated, methods for its utilization have not been worked out, and sometimes even the leadership cadre at the lower level has not been familiarized with its contents. These units underestimate its proper significance, i.e., its significance in accordance with the provisions of the regulations concerning the operation of services. They stress a formal relationship to one's duties as well as unthinking disciplinary practices and other disturbing phenomena.

Not all superiors and senior officers are aware of the fact that combating the causes of wrongdoing, not fighting against its manifestations, produces the greatest results. In our constant battle against wrongdoing, we should thus direct greater attention to disclosing, analyzing and combating its causes and the accompanying circumstances.

One of the most important teaching tools for having an effect on subordinates is the right to recommend through one's leader that a criminal proceeding be initiated. This is an instrument for combating and also averting crimes. The skillful and rational (i.e., justified according to military discipline) use of this right is the best method for counteracting the formation of the notion that one will go unpunished and of the peculiar idea that it is profitable to commit a crime. What is meant here in particular is the creation of a situation in which every offense and every crime should meet with a reaction in the form of legal proceedings or punishment, depending upon its seriousness, its causes, its consequences and the attitudes of the perpetrators. These elements should always be evaluated with military discipline in mind. The overly hasty, carelessly considered decision to initiate criminal proceedings is as much a mistake as is inconclusiveness in a situation in which all of the ways of educating, and thus influencing, the perpetrator have been exhausted. In the pursuit and punishment of the perpetrators of crimes, misdemanors and other offenses, we must adhere to the principles of applying a single set of criteria in disciplinary practice and of conclusiveness in criminal proceedings. The welfare of military discipline is the basic criterion here. This means that the point of departure in deciding whether to punish according to disciplinary procedure or to hold a criminal proceeding must be the current state of discipline and military order in the unit (the subunit, the detachment), the level of combat preparedness, the degree of training and the character of the tasks of the unit, as well as the effectiveness of the heretofore applied teaching methods for influencing the perpetrator of an act and other soldiers.

The principles of the application of a single set of criteria in disciplinary practice and of conclusiveness in criminal proceedings, properly understood, enables

an awareness of the consequences of concealing crimes and uncommon occurrences. The "benefits" of concealing crimes and uncommon occurrences are nil. However, all leaders are not always aware of this fact. Sometimes one comes into contact with leaders who are meant to achieve only superficial "success" in the area of order and military discipline, "success" expressed in terms of recognition given them for their low rates of crime and disciplinary penalties and not for their actual disciplinary state. An example of this is the various sorts of measures and attempts aimed at achieving the most favorable picture of the state of discipline and military order in the unit. Sometimes these do bring about momentary results in the form of expressions of recognition and awards. In reality, however, the concealment of crimes and extraordinary occurrences and attempts made to facilitate matters within one's own sphere (e.g., by straightening out or repairing the damage done by the perpetrator or by effecting a reconciliation between the perpetrator and the wronged and the like) only serve to embolden the perpetrator of such acts and to create the notion of impunity among some soldiers. Moreover, practice teaches us that sooner or later that crime will be revealed and the pursuing authorities will have to question the perpetrator and the person guilty of failing to notify the proper authorities about the crime.

The concern of superiors with regard to maintaining a high level of discipline should be apparent not only at the stage of conclusively initiating a criminal proceeding but also after such a proceeding has been initiated. One of the most important forms of leader activism in this area is to inspire the participation of the social element in the criminal proceeding. The participation of the social element is an extremely important teaching tool for the perpetrator of the act and for the soldier's collective. Censure of the act by the collective, as experience has shown, is a very effective instrument for coordinating the behavior of soldiers. The resocialization values of the criminal proceeding and of punishment are also helpful. Thus, we must aim at increasing the involvement of collectives in the interests of discipline and military order. For it does happen that collectives become involved in taking the part of the perpetrator of the act.

The problems we have discussed emphasize the need and the absolute importance of maintaining close contact and cooperation of leaders and the party-political apparatus with the public prosecutor's office. We must be aware of the fact that prosecutors, like leaders, are interested in maintaining discipline in the units subordinate to them, particularly with regard to the effective combating of crime. However, this can only be achieved in close cooperation with leaders and with the party-political apparatus and with the support of the social element.

In conjunction with this, emphasis in military units must be placed on the problem of getting the jump on wrongdoing, of reacting to its symptoms and signs. This requires the planning of preventive measures. It is difficult, in turn, to consider planning without a prior analysis of the phenomenon, its causes, signs and consequences, as well as the circumstances which engender these things. In this area, prosecutors may be of service to leaders, helping them with their own initiatives and by means of concrete action in the process of planning and implementing preventive measures.

Psychological Problems

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 4, Apr 81 pp 106-108

[Article by Col Dr Edmund Krazynski: "When the New Recruit Comes..."]

> [Text] "Military service is a keen test of a man's real values. Here all sorts of weaknesses of his intellect and character, given over to the sharp criticism of the collective, are unerring and implacably exposed. The individual, who under civilian circumstances, protected by his family or the tolerance of his surroundings, has managed comparatively well to meet the demands of his environment, is disoriented rapidly in the military."*

The adjustment to the difficult conditions of military service embraces the biological-physical sphere, the mental sphere and the social sphere. The necessity of changing one's former life style and of conforming to the demands of group existence and to the principles of discipline causes military service to be felt and lived through as a series of difficult situations which weigh on the emotional sphere of one's personality. An additional source of difficulties is the added burden on the intellectual sphere due to the rapid tempo of training and the necessity for learning to operate modern, complex combat equipment within a short time.

Under these conditions a phenomenon known in theory as disintegration of the physic structure occurs among soldiers. As a rule, this is a transitional state in the military. Every soldier is a member of a collective which facilitates his adjustment to the new environment.* This is a difficult process, the course of which runs differently for every soldier. The reasons for these differences must be sought in the earlier influences of the family and school environment, in the influence of the soldier's civilian contemporaries, in the state of the soldier's health and in his mental and psychical capabilities.

Studies conducted in the Military Psychology Chair of the Political Academy from 1976 to 1979 have shown that among soldiers finding it difficult to adjust to the service during the basic training period, 63.3 percent came from families who did not fulfill their training functions properly; 73.4 percent had difficulties as students; 32.8 percent manifested asocial attitudes and had been punished through disciplinary dismissals from work and by the governing bodies of national councils; 29.2 percent abused alcohol, and 9.1 percent were in the care of a mental health clinic or a school psychological clinic. Although this data represents only a

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*Z. Rydzynski, Problems of the Mental Health of Soldiers, Warsaw, 1970, p 15.

*See Z. Rydzynski, "Neurosis in the Light of Crisis" in PSYCHIATRIA POLSKA, no 6, 1972, p 469.

fragment of the whole, it indicates the need for individual evaluations of the adjustment potential of subordinates.

The sources of disruption in the adjustment process and of training difficulties may be classified according to the following groups of problems:
--state of health;
--level of intellectual development;
--factors of one's character;
--mental illness;
--unfavorable environmental stimuli currently operative, including: immediate shortcomings in training work; an improper assignment to a particular branch of service; embroilment in conflict situations; dashed hopes in conjunction with the given environment (including unrequited love);
--unfavorable environmental stimuli formerly operative, including: the formal and moral disintegration of the family; association with friends having antisocial goals; poor learning conditions, and alcoholism.

Superiors and political officers supervise and control the course of schooling and training. The full-time presence of political officers and the prescribed principle of turning to them outside of the normal service hierarchy enables them to fulfill both direct and indirect training functions. They have an influence on the superiors of soldiers in basic training, offering them instructional-methodological counsel. They themselves are also engaged in the process of coming to know the soldiers and exerting an influence upon them.

A fundamental condition for the success of both types of tasks, however, is a wealth of knowledge, including knowledge in the field of the psychology of learning. If the leader of a squad, a platoon or a company comes to the political officer for advice in matters connected with failures in teaching, the means that he is also asking for a psychological diagnosis of the reasons for the soldier's failure to adjust. And he should receive such a diagnosis. The superior must also receive advice concerning further instructional procedure, as well as pointers on dealing with the mental characteristics of the student--both the positive characteristics, upon which a plan of training activities may be based and the negative characteristics to be eliminated.

It is understood that some of the most difficult instances of behavioral disturbances must be corrected by direction action. The whole body of pedagogical and psychological knowledge must be engaged and the help of doctors and often, of psychiatrists, must be enlisted.

Considerable difficulties arise when we try to determine the mental efficiency of soldiers, particularly during the initial period of their service. Young men of conscript age have not yet attained the full stability of the biological-mental organism. Moreover, various forms of real illnesses and personality anomalies are revealed, as well as passing disorders associated with the psychophysiological phenomena of the period of puberty.

Most often the following anomalies are encountered:
Permanent anomalies: psychopathy manifested as character changes and emotional-impulse changes; mental immaturity; handicaps in one's capacity for learning, in

orienting oneself to one's surroundings and in experiencing phenomena and making use of one's experiences;
transitional anomalies: mental infantilism characterized by instability of aspirations, lack of independence, susceptibility to the influences of one's surroundings, emotional instability, theatrical behavior, lack of discipline;
sociopathy resulting from the pathological influences of the environment or from the lack of the parents' teaching capabilities and characterized by a lack of skill in the proper regulation of one's relationship to one's surroundings.

The political officer must base his tasks on an analysis of the sources of the defective behavior of the given soldier. In order to arrive at an accurate diagnosis, he must make use of methods developed by psychologists. These enable him to isolate the particular sources of behavioral disturbances and to establish teaching and psychocorrectional methods to be applied both in individual cases and in conjunction with the group.

The purpose of psychocorrectional measures is to eliminate or mitigate disturbances. Both the medical and the psychological methods used are in practice supplemented by this training activity of the political officers. The latter creates favorable conditions for the reduction and elimination of the personality defects of soldiers who manifest asocial characteristics. Consequently, the close cooperation of superiors, political officers, psychologists and doctors is indispensable. The amount of involvement of each professional and the scope of cooperation depends on the type of personality disturbance.

A major role in adapting young soldiers is played by doctors and psychologists who, together with political officers, apply methods of direct and active psychotherapy. These methods serve to interrupt the machinery that triggers behavioral disturbances. Political officers should also work to resocialize soldiers, i.e., to eliminate the signs of ill-adjustment without reorganizing the basic personality structure. Methods of direct psychological (supportive) therapy are likewise used. These methods are based on conversations aimed at sustaining a soldier's activity, strengthening his confidence in his own powers and potential and eliminating the consequences of powerful negative experiences. The supportive activities should be used in particular during the basic training period when many soldiers manifest temporary breakdowns and disorders. During the subsequent periods of service such therapy is used to infuse courage and to strengthen motivation for the fulfillment of new and difficult tasks.

Political officers also frequently find it necessary to make use of indirect influences on a given soldier, i.e., on his environment. However, it sometimes happens that in the subunit a soldier who cannot keep up with the achievements of his group is not noticed in time. The group does not always understand the psychic uniqueness of the colleague, his distinct comprehension and particular set of experiences. This makes the soldier's situation even more complicated. For this reason, after the passage of a certain period of time, the collective must be engag engaged to take the colleague under its wing.

Sometimes the demands of the military environment collide with certain personality anomalies or with the former experiences of the new soldier who has been removed

from a civilian environment to give rise to neuroses--disturbances in one's emotional life. These are reactive disturbances which somehow "reply" to conflict situations, to contradictory aspirations and to the long-term influence of negative mental stimuli. Since trauma and negative mental stimuli often arise as a consequence of a mistaken interpretation of events or as a result of an evaluation of one's own interpretations, the task of teachers and collectives is the preventive demonstration of all aspects of military life in their proper propor ions, i.e., as they correspond to reality. In particular, difficulties should be portrayed as surmountable, soldiers should be prepared to execute tasks of increasi ; difficulty gradually and individaul service orders should be assigned according to the soldier's capabilities.

AWOL Incidents in Navy

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 5, May 81 pp 40-45

[Article by CDR Dr Henryk Adamczyk: "Discipline and Problems Regarding AWOL of Seamen of the Basic Service"]

[Text] Discipline, the Basis of Work and Military Service

Discipline is a function of organization, management and leadership. It is an essential condition of effective operation and a necessary element of productive work. This includes personal, internal discipline which enables one to concentrate on fulfilling a task and organizational discipline without which there cannot be teamwork. It is also an important teaching method, a method of one's becoming accustomed to thoroughness, punctuality, correct general conduct and, foremost, the correct execution of the service obligations which are imposed.

The present stage of development of our society requires a particularly high level of discipline. Without this, it is impossible for cities and industrial plants to function well and for production, transport and supply to be operated efficiently. Universal discipline in the operation of all elements of the economy, of social life and of military life, with regard to every worker and his vocational obligations is indispensable to increased quality in work and in military service.

Thus, service and work discipline is a subject for discussion not only in terms of immediate practical ends. In everyday speech, discipline is associated primarily with subjugating oneself to regulations, punishment and rigorousness. In our opinion, the concept of military discipline should be supplemented with material from the field of morality and good military practice. Discipline should not be associated only with rigors and penalties, but also with positive values, appropriate material rewards and moral distinction.

Discipline is necessary not only in teamwork; it is essential in the actions of each soldier, even in his thinking. It consists, t' en, of our concentrating on what we are doing, on not becoming distracted and becoming lost in doing many things at once instead of first finishing task and then moving on to another. The proper organization of one's activities and the proper use of one's time, as well as respecting others' time are also matters of individual discipline. And in this field there is yet much to be learned, particularly on the part of certain superiors.

Discipline may be inculcated into subordinates in one of two ways: by means of persuasion and pointing out the benefits of being disciplined, or by force. In our opinion, the first way is the most suitable method and the method that produces the most lasting results. We must convince soldiers that without discipline, no teamwork can be effective and that subjecting oneself to discipline, e.g., military discipline in a subunit (on board ship) makes coexistence and cooperation possible. Convincing the military of this and making them accustomed to it is one of the important tasks of training in navy units. For training work is a field in which all superiors, all courts of honor and courts of arbitration by colleagues, the party-political apparatus, the Socialist Union of Polish Youth [ZSMP], the Council of Professional Noncommissioned Officers and social elements operative in navy units, must be interested.

However, we must be aware of the fact that under military conditions persuasion itself is not always enough; it is not effective in every case. This most often happens when a sailor whom we wish to train according to the requirements of military discipline had been formerly given over to influences which sometimes worked in an opposite direction, and he found himself in circumstances which did not foster the cultivation of discipline. This refers in particular to sailors in basic training who have gone AWOL. It should be emphasized that crimes of absences without leave represent approximately 30 percent of all crimes and 12 percent of all disciplinary offenses committed by sailors in basic training. For this reason, the method of persuasion unfortunately must be supplemented sometimes by methods of coercion, i.e., the imposition of suitable disciplinary penalties.

Causes of Sailors' Going AWOL

Taking into account the above requirements set before the cadre and sailors in the area of discipline formation, the Political Administration of the Navy [ZPMW] resolved to conduct sociological research on the subject of the causes of sailors' going AWOL in basic training. Keeping in mind the improvement of the methods and forms of work in the area of preventing incidences of AWOL, the ZPMW resolved to seek answers to the following questions during the course of this research:
--the major causes of incidences of AWOL of sailors in basic training;
--the views (opinions) and proposals of the professional cadre and of sailors in the area of preventing incidences of AWOL of certain sailors from navy units;
--research into the current needs and possibilities for increasing the effects of the activities of leaders at all levels of leadership, of the party-political apparatus and of social elements in training work with sailors who are guilty of AWOL from their units.

It should be emphasized that both the professional cadre and sailors in basic training have taken this research seriously, offering candid answers which were sometimes broadly substantiated. The views, opinions, evaluations and proposals expressed prove that the issue of sailors in navy units going AWOL is an important problem in leadership and party-political activity.

One of the first questions was asked for the purpose of orientation into the principle causes of incidences of AWOL in units. The question was: "In your opinion, what is the major cause of incidences of AWOL among certain sailors."

According to the results gathered from four groups--sailors, noncommissioned officers, standard bearers and officers--the major causes of AWOL among sailors are primarily: a lack of discipline among sailors--77.4 percent of the answers of the professional cadre and 35.3 percent of the sailors' answers; the small number of leaves and holidays--55.9 percent of the answers of the cadre and 44.9 percent of the sailors' answers; the lack of cultural diversion in the unit--32.0 percent of the answers of the cadre and 29.6 percent of the answers of sailors in basic training. Other reasons given which were felt to be of lesser importance were the desire by sailors to find an outlet and the lack of supervision of superiors.

The next question which tested the opinions of the professional cadre and the sailors was the phenomena engendering incidences of AWOL among sailors. The following question was asked: "Incidences of AWOL among sailors are engendered by the following phenomena--please give as many reasons as you choose." The table presents the detailed answers to the above question.

Table 1

The Circumstance and Phenomena Engendering Incidences of AWOL Among Sailors (given in percentages)

Basic Phenomena	Categories of persons questioned	
	the cadre	sailors
1. Lack of resistance to the hardships of military service	70.9*	35.8
2. The desire of the sailor to meet a girlfriend	50.1	32.2
3. Difficulty in adjusting to military service	49.1	30.1
4. The desire to meet a friend to go drinking (beer or vodka)	43.0	9.2
5. Unrest evoked by an undesirable family situation	26.5	25.2
6. Limitation in the use of leaves	10.0	30.0
7. Improper interpersonal relations in a subunit (on board ship)	10.3	19.0
8. The location of the unit (garrison)	16.8	6.9
9. Unfamiliarity with the regulations defining the disciplinary consequences of going AWOL	16.4	9.8
10. The unequal and unjust assignment of tasks (services, work)	3.6	13.3

*The percentages do not add up to 100 percent. Each of those questioned was permitted to give as many reasons as he chose.

The findings of the sociological study demonstrate that incidences of AWOL among sailors in basic training are engendered primarily by: a lack of resistance to the hardships of military service, the desire of the sailor to meet a girlfriend, difficulty in adjusting to military service in the navy and, according to the opinion of sailors, limitation in the use of leaves and holidays.

The above data demonstrates that one of the basic problems which has important pedagogical significance in work with sailors who go AWOL is the question of granting them leaves and holidays. In conjunction with this, the following question was addressed to the professional cadre: "Had sailors who went AWOL from the unit made any attempt earlier to receive a pass for leave (or holiday) through the service (legally)?" The following answers were given.

1. Yes, they did try earlier to receive a pass for a leave (or holiday) through the service (legally)--12.2 percent of the answers.
2. They did not try to receive a pass for a leave (or holiday)--13.3 percent.
3. There are no rules in this regard--70.9 percent.
4. I cannot judge--3.6 percent of the answers.

The sailors, on the other hand, ascertain that the use of a pass is dependent solely upon the approval of superiors--41.8 percent of their answers; that use of a pass for a leave (or holiday) is contingent upon the attitudes and the discipline of sailors--32.5 percent of the answers; that it is not very difficult to get a pass for a leave--14.2 percent and that the possibility of making use of a pass for a leave depends upon the military service list--11.5 percent of the answers.

Another question referred to the effectiveness of meting out disciplinary punishment to sailors for going AWOL from the unit. The question was put this way: "In your opinion, what are the most effective disciplinary penalties and consequences for sailors who go AWOL from the unit?" And the results: lengthening the period of military service--73.5 percent of the answers of the cadre (16.0 percent)*; arrest--53.4 percent (33.5 percent); sending a letter to the family or to the place of work--45.2 percent (21.5 percent); a review by a court of arbitration of one's peers--24.2 percent (35.2 percent); withholding leaves--19.4 percent (37.1 percent); discussion of the case at a ZSMP meeting of a sailors' meeting--16.5 percent (23.2 percent); a ban on leaving the ship--10.4 percent (27.3 percent).

In an attempt to gather information concerning the cultural-educational presentations organized in units, the cadre and the sailors were given the following question: "Do the cultural-educational and sports events organized on free days meet the needs of sailors?" The answers revealed that scarcely 7.0 percent of the sailors and 14.7 percent of the cadre hold that the events organized on free days totally fulfill the needs and cultural interests of sailors; 32.9 percent of the sailors and 19.7 percent of the cadre gave a negative response, and 55.6 percent of the sailors and 62.0 percent of the cadre held that these needs are met, but not totally. The remainder, i.e., 4.5 percent of the sailors and 3.6 percent of the cadre did not give an opinion.

The findings demonstrated that, in general, the ways that sailors in navy units spent their free day fill one with optimism. The majority watch television--67.2

*The answers of sailors in basic training are given in parentheses.

percent of the answers, in second place is the reading of books and newspapers--36.4 percent, third is to see a movie--28.1 percent, fourth, sporting events--26.9 percent. Other ways of spending the day off were: at coffee houses (discotheques), on walks and at club games. The study also showed that a small percentage of the sailors spend their time in an active manner, i.e., participating in sporting events or taking walks.

Interpersonal relations play an essential role in the unit. Their influence, as the study has shown, is of basic importance. They have an effect on the frame of mind of the sailor in the unit (on board ship) to a great extent. In order to gain information on this subject, the following question was asked of the cadre and the sailors: "What is your estimation of the state of interpersonal relations in the unit in which you are fulfilling your military service obligation?" The evaluation:

Evaluation of interpersonal relations	cadre	sailors
1. Very good	8.9	10.3
2. Good	63.4	31.1
3. Adequate	21.6	7.5
4. Inadequate	5.7	41.9
5. I cannot judge	0.4	9.2

The above data shows that interpersonal relations in navy units in general are good. Sailors in basic training are somewhat more critical of them than is the professional cadre.

General Conclusions

On the basis of the findings of the study, several general conclusions may be made relating to the increased effectiveness of training work with sailors who have gone AWOL from navy units.

1. The primary reason for sailors' going AWOL in basic training are:
   --the lack of discipline (subordination) among sailors; such is the opinion of approximately 70 percent of the cadre and 35 percent of the sailors;
   --the small number of leaves (holidays); this is ascertained by 55 percent of the cadre and 44 percent of the sailors;
   --the lack of cultural-educational and sports diversions in the unit; 33 percent of the cadre and 29 percent of the sailors stress this problem.

2. The motives of soldiers who go AWOL likewise issue from psychological conditions, including the following: the lack of resistance of sailors to the hardships of military service; their difficulties in adjusting to military service in the navy; homesickness for the family--unrest evoked by an undesirable family situation; the desire of the sailor to meet a girlfriend; the desire (for the

most part momentary) to free oneself of the bonds of severe military discipline; the maliciously negative attitude of certain sailors to military service.

3. The causes of sailors' going AWOL issue from certain sociological conditions, among which we may number as most important:
--the unbearable atmosphere, i.e., unsuitable interpersonal relations in the subunit (on board ship); 41 percent of the sailors hold that interpersonal relations in the units studied are inadequate;
--the negative effect of colleagues who are "informal leaders," i.e., undisciplined persons who have received disciplinary penalties several times, on sailors;
--the effect of the military environment (the garrison), particularly during the spring and summer.

Other factors of a sailor's going AWOL include all sorts of "opportunities," for example: planning a visit to friends, trips from the hospital to the unit, the lack of supervision by superiors. It is often the case that sailors even take pleasure in the fact that they have so cleverly outwitted superiors or the orderly duty service of the military, as the study has shown.

8536
CSO: 2600/220

ROLE OF MILITARY PROSECUTOR IN CRIME PREVENTION OUTLINED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD MORSKI in Polish No 10, Oct 80 pp 77-80

[Article by Capt Wieslaw Balcerak: "Prosecutorial Supervision of Observance of the Law, and the Crime Prevention Activity of the Military Prosecutors"]

[Text] Prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law has its legal bases in the law of 14 April 1967 on the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic. Chapter 3, point 5 of this law is devoted precisely to the regulation of problems concerning prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law.

The establishment of this office and its endowment with the legal foundations covered in the mentioned law are a result of the recognition that the task of the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic is not only to prosecute perpetrators of crimes, but also to safeguard the rule of law by assuring the protection of social property and the observance of civil laws.

These tasks can be accomplished not only by conducting a criminal proceeding but also by implementing prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law. This activity can be and has been undertaken in situations before an offense has been committed, and then it aims at revealing the circumstances which can constitute the basis for a crime. Prosecutorial supervision also can be implemented when a crime already has been committed. Then its aim is to elucidate, in a broader manner than is possible in a criminal proceeding, the circumstances which contributed to the commission of the crime and to eliminate them.

Prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law also can be undertaken without linking it to the occurrence of specific criminal issues and to a criminal proceeding. It also can be undertaken with the aim of assuring that the actions of organs of the state administration are consistent with the law.

If instances are revealed of lack of respect for legal regulations on the part of organs of the state administration, the prosecutor is empowered to take appropriate measures. Among these are protest and intervention, in particular.

A protest is filed against a general legal act which is inconsistent with the law and against guidelines handed down by local organs of the state administration, state enterprises and other state organizational units, and by professional, municipal, cooperative, and social organizations.

Moreover, the military prosecutor files a protest against orders and rulings handed down by military organs which are inconsistent with the orders or rulings of the Minister of National Defense.

The prosecutor also may register a protest against final or valid decisions and other judgments in individual cases which are inconsistent with the law, if these decisions or judgments can be changed or abrogated based on regulations of the codex of administrative proceedings or other regulations.

Prosecutorial intervention is initiated in two types of situations. The first concerns intervention initiated when a preparatory proceeding (i.e. an investigation or an inquest) reveals the circumstances favoring the perpetration of crimes or hindering their detection. In the second situation, intervention may be initiated either on the basis of materials from a preparatory proceeding which reveal circumstances other than those mentioned above or on the basis of materials obtained through prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law.

This type of intervention is initiated when:

- --infringement of the law in a general legal act, in guidelines, or in a decision or other judgment in an individual case does not constitute grounds for changing or abrogating these legal acts, guidelines, decisions, or judgments;
- --infringement of the law is caused by the idleness of a state administrative organ;
- --a change or abrogation of a faulty decision or other judment in an individual case is not possible under the provisions of the binding regulations, or when it would be useless to register a protest or other type of indictment provided for in the special regulations;
- --the need arises for a supervisory or control organ to undertake actions aimed at preventing infringements of the law, or when the need arises to pay particular attention to circumstances negatively affecting observance of the law.

In the case of the military prosecutor, he also can initiate intervention when the need arises to pay special attention to circumstances having a negative impact on the state of military discipline and military order. The organ to which the intervention or protest has been directed is obliged to provide a response within 30 days on a means of settling this matter.

For the army, the fulfillment of the law mentioned at the beginning of this article is constituted by the instruction on prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law and on the preventive activity of military prosecutors in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic of 31 December 1968 on the matter of prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law and the preventive activity of military prosecutors; this instruction was implemented by order of the general prosecutor of the Polish People's Republic and the Minister of National Defense. Under the provisions of this instruction, prosecutorial supervision of observance of the law is exercised to assure that general legal acts, decisions in individual cases, and civil legal acts are consistent with the law.

In the course of this supervision, the military prosecutor strives not only to establish the facts, circumstances, and effects of the infringement of the law and to restore a state consistent with the law; he also should examine the reasons and conditions fostering this infringement.

In endeavoring to explain an issue connected with the infringement of a law, the military prosecutor can demand to see all indispensable documents, can demand the deposition of testimony from particular people, can seek expert opinions, and can amass other indispensable materials.

The aim of the elucidative acts undertaken by the military prosecutor is to establish: was a legal regulation infringed and if so, which one, what are the effects of the infringement of the law, who is responsible, and were there circumstances fostering the infringement of the law?

In the course of the prosecutorial supervision of the application of a law in an administrative proceeding by organs of the military administration, the military prosecutor is aided by a law requiring him to initiate a proceeding and to participate in the proceeding in each of its stages.

One of the tasks of military prosecutors is to supervise military prisons, supervision which consists in particular of supervising the legality of imprisoning soldiers and the means of carrying out the prison sentence.

In addition to conducting their supervisory activities, the organizational units of the military prosecutor's office also conduct investigations of the state and causes of criminality and the means of combatting it. These studies are aimed particularly at determining the structure, dynamics, and sources of criminality, the main directions for combatting it and the methods for preventing it, and the means for improving the activity of organs organized to prosecute crimes.

In addition to their supervisory and investigative activities, the military prosecutors are obligated to conduct preventive activities in the area of strengthening the rule of law and preventing crimes and other infringements of the law. The main task of this activity is to shape the legal consciousness of soldiers and civilian workers and to create a climate in which criminality is condemned. It is also the task of the preventive activity of military prosecutors to strive to eliminate the conditions, circumstances, and causes which make possible, and relatively facilitate, the commission of crimes, as well as to eliminate the premises fostering the perpetration of all other infringements of the law in Poland's Armed Forces.

In undertaking acts in the area of prevention, military prosecutors at appropriate levels collaborate closely with the political administrations of military districts and branches of the Armed Forces and also with the political departments of tactical unions. In undertaking preventive actions, military prosecutors popularize the law, collaborate with military commanders and soldiers' collectives in the process of rehabilitating perpetrators of more minor offenses, work preventively with particularly undisciplined soldiers (by conducting individual interviews), utilize materials from criminal cases for preventive ends (in particular, by conducting warning interviews with perpetrators of crimes, initiating and jointly organizing trials in the military units, conducting environmental meetings and initiating the

issuance of orders by appropriate military commanders), and participate in conferences, meetings, sessions, or deliberations.

When it comes to popularizing the law, this activity is aimed at increasing soldiers' and civilian workers' state of legal awareness and at having a deterent effect. Soldiers and civilian workers can be made more familiar with the law through meetings, readings, lectures, talks, stories, publications, individual legal counseling, etc.

The military prosecutor should endeavor to utilize for preventive aims all aspects of each criminal matter which lends itself to this end. In connection with this aim, and in coordination with the military command of a given military unit, the military prosecutor can participate in environmental meetings devoted to a discussion of all the circumstances connected with a specific criminal matter. The goal of an environmental meeting is to present to those gathered there the nature, circumstances, and sources of the crime and the profile of the perpetrator and to underline the social harmfulness of his criminal act, all of which should promote an atmosphere of condemnation of the crime and the criminal in the environment which the perpetrator comes from.

Each criminal matter, as a manifestation of the pathology of social life, is the kind of extreme phenomenon which the military prosecutors as well as society as a whole would like to avoid. Because of this fact, special significance is being accorded these days to prevention which is based not on specific examples of criminal matters but on legal regulations, prevention which is aimed at conveying the appropriate amount of information to those individuals at whom preventive aims are directed, prevention directed at the imaginations and minds of people caught up in preventive activity. In their minds, preventive aims are supposed to promote processes which will form a lasting conviction concerning the need to observe the law and the unacceptability of conduct at cross purposes with the law.

Referring to specific criminal matters is not the purpose of this type of prevention; it merely provides examples which make it easier to understand the significance and contents of the discussed legal norms.

Implementing preventive tasks in this sense is not a simple matter. On the one hand, it requires good professional knowledge on the part of those conducting the preventive activity, and, on the other hand, the condition for the proper reception of preventive aims is the appropriate level of the recipients. Both one and the other condition have been fulfilled in the case of the Polish military.

In the case of the military, particularly great attention is devoted to the task of prevention. Each lack of discipline, particularly a serious one constituting a crime, creates a strong threat to military discipline. Taking this into account, greater significance is given these days to preventive activity itself than to disciplinary reactions to faults or to the criminal prosecution of offenses.

The decrease in crime is a simple confirmation of the effectiveness, profitability, the rightfulness of the preventive activity of many service links and prosecutorial organs and of the extent of their justice. This decrease in crime creates ever greater possibilities for preventive work, the ideal result of which would be the elimination of crime.

8729
CSO: 2600/231

INCREASED CRIME, POLICE ACTION DISCUSSED

Comments of Koszalin Police Commander

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 3,4,5 Apr 81 pp 3-4

[Interview with Col Andrzej Marcinkowski, Commander of the Voivodship Citizens' Militia in Koszalin, by Jerzy Rudzik: "In the Citizens' Interest"]

[Text] The society wants to live in a sense of personal security and public order. The individual interest of the citizen and that of the society at large require on the part of the police and security forces efficient operations, a high level of effectiveness, and also absolutely everyone's respect for certain rights and obligations, the principles of public coexistence. This is the origin of our interview, the framework in time of which applies mainly but not only to the past year, 1980.

[Question] One has the impression that in the area of criminal behavior, the situation has worsened to a certain extent compared to previous years. People's security, their property, their health, and even their lives are threatened most by this sort of occurrence.

[Answer] I think that this sort of judgment could be predicated by the spectacular nature of certain crimes and the fact that by the nature of things they are being more widely publicized than before. Overall, however, the year 1980 saw even a slight decline in crime. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the number of crimes particularly harmful to life and health, such as robbery and murder, increased, along with breaking and entering public facilities, and the theft of public and private property. On the other hand, there were fewer cases of murder and manslaughter, bodily injury, assaults on public functionaries, fires and arson, car accidents, and breaking and entering of private installations. It is clear that the crime statistics differ from one locality to another.

[Question] First you talked about a rise in the thefts of public property and then later about the decline in breaking and entering of private installations. Is there not some sort of contradiction here?

[Answer] No. Why? Well, the broad publicity and prevention efforts showing the need for the public to properly safeguard their homes, basements, and garages, a program undertaken by the police and the PZU insurance agency, for example, are beginning to bear fruit. They are producing better and better results. On the other hand, the slight rise in the rate of petty theft was a result of the increasing proportion of the involvement of minors, which is undoubtedly a dangerous symptom of an adverse phenomenon. Many such thefts take place during the tourist season too, and a substantial proportion of these are committed by residents of other voivodships. Let us also say right out that if a thief is made by the opportunity, then there are really a very great many vacation opportunities.

[Question] What is the detection rate for criminal and economic offenses?

[Answer] Overall, it is high, but for cases like murder, rape, robbery, and extortion, and active assaults on public functionaries, it is nearly 100 percent. We also note a relatively high detection rate in the other groups of crime, but I admit objectively that it is not always adequate for the numbers and public expectations. This applies, for example, to breaking and entering public and private facilities, and the theft of public and private property. Nonetheless, the average rate of detection for various crimes I would set at 90 percent. On the voivodship map this situation differs. For this reason we attach tremendous weight to cooperation with the public and also to increasing the effectiveness and level of professional requirements of certain police units. It is obvious that the fact that the detection rate is lower for crimes in certain localities obliges us to make appropriate conclusions in this regard.

[Question] Do you know of instances where police functionaries have used excessive force or where citizens have made complaints that they had received improper treatment?

[Answer] In 1980 policemen were forced to intervene 172,000 times just for misdemeanors, and they also participated in household and public intervention 26,000 times. Unfortunately, in more than one instance, particularly where there was excessive use of alcohol, there was an altercation and even the ne to use force, but recently I have not been aware of a single instance where our functionaries used excessive force.

[Question] So we do not have the problem of incidents between the police and the citizenry?

[Answer] Incidental situations occur. After all I cannot say that the citizen always and everywhere is personally convinced as to the correctness and propriety of police intervention. Proof of this could be the complaints which come to us. Those who consider themselves injured or insulted. In 1980 the Voivodship Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia (KW MO) received 214 complaints. After very careful investigation, it turned out that it was the citizens who were correct in 24 instances. In most general terms, it was a question of improper behavior by policemen on duty or their inactivity. I want to strongly emphasize that in this regard we set very high demands on our functionaries, and there are severe official sanctions in the case of proved improper conduct.

[Question] One more thing, the question of security at night. In the daytime we often see policemen walking in pairs, but there are many indications that it is right during the late evening and at night when there are no policemen where people expect help.

[Answer] We have the principle that more than 60 percent of the police in uniform are assigned for duty in the evening and at night, because indeed this is when most of the crimes and misdemeanors are committed. On the other hand, it is hard to be everywhere, at each spot. The police also has staff limitations. This is why we work in close cooperation with the ORMO [police volunteer reserves] and the military. We send out joint patrols. This is producing ever better results.

[Question] The security forces and police also have the duty to protect the national economy against theft, waste, and lack of thrift and to bring perpetrators to light speedily.

[Answer] In 1980 202 preparatory cases for economic crimes with unit losses of more than 20,000 cases were instigated. This is nine less than in 1979. On the basis of 184 cases, it was established that the national economy incurred losses of 18,927,000 zlotys, which is 1,842,000 more than in 1979. In 37 of the cases conducted by us it turned out that the losses exceeded 200,000 zlotys. Most of the grave offenses were noted in commodity turnovers in socialized agriculture and construction. In the cases completed, there were 404 accused, 112 of whom were arrested. We consistently observe the principle that excesses and theft of public property do not pay.

[Question] I should like to ask for a few examples, also since the beginning of 1981, concerning cases in which you are conducting cases which the public should be informed about owing to the size of the losses and public damages.

[Answer] Recently the voivodship prosecutor gave a number of examples in an interview with your paper, so I will mention other newer ones. An investigation is going on into the theft of meat and meat products from one of the butcher shops in Darlowo, and the head of the shop is in jail.

In the soda-water plant in Szczecinek a shortage and property theft totalling 900,000 zlotys were noted. This is the same amount as the shortage in the warehouse of the fish center in Kolobrzeg. There have also been grave abuses in the WSS Spolem bakery in Koszalin. Additional quantities of cakes were baked from unrecorded surpluses of raw materials, cakes which of course were sold in the shops at a private profit with no records kept of either the cakes or the profit.

[Question] The difficult market situation and the empty shop shelves favor a rise in speculation.

[Answer] The fact is that in our area too such phenomena are already occurring too. We have begun several investigations. A certain Kolobrzeg resident made a large-scale purchase of foreign goods from sailors, selling them to fences in the country. Before the price rise on liquor several shops hid the liquor from the inventory commissions and then brought them out to sell after the new prices went into effect. Owners of several private bakeries bought up large amounts of retail sugar, flour, and margarine. Besides this our field units are conducting many investigations into cases of speculative prices used in the market place.

[Question] The police do more than detect and investigate perpetrators of crimes. They also take certain universal preventive measures.

[Answer] Along with a large social active of ORMO members joint drives of monitoring and inspection are conducted in shops, market places, and warehouses. We monitor the way records are kept on goods and the flow of documents. In this and other matters we cooperate closely with the district attorney and bodies of state control. On the basis of inspectors' findings and the results of preparatory investigations, each year several hundred cases are presented to the management of work establishments with information on the shortcomings noted. Recently the whole area of the food economy has come under special scrutiny and protection. I think that the scope and forms of these undertakings should be expanded and enriched.

[Question] Now for another area. What is the situation with safety and order in public road traffic?

[Answer] I think we have achieved positive results as the result of redoubled patrol and preventive efforts. There has already been improvement in the voivodship during the past 3 years. Here the drives we have been conducting are very important: "Child stop on the road," "Koszalin roads always safe," and "Social traffic inspector, caretaker of children." In 1980, for example, the number of accidents dropped to 394, compared to 453 in 1979. The results of accidents were also less tragic. Things are improving, but the level of threat to safety on public roads in the voivodship is still considerable.

[Question] And the causes of accidents?

[Answer] They are actually widely known: failure to adapt travelling speed to the road situation, pedestrian errors, driving under the influence of alcohol. In 1980, we stopped 4,760 drunk drivers.

[Question] We heard rumors that at present policemen are holding up driver's licenses even for minor collisions and fender-benders. Is it not enough to issue a citation?

[Answer] We only take them in instances of grave violations of the regulations and their consequences, or when the motor code provides for additional penalties.

[Question] Everyone knows that there is too much drinking and that a large number of violations and crimes are committed under the influence.

[Answer] In 1980 we put 4,551 persons in the drunk tank. The medical treatment commission was sent 774 requests to dry out alcoholics. We sent our colleagues 2,561 cases of incidents involving drunks. One big problem is the shortage of drunk tanks, even in Koszalin.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Comments of Rzeszow Police Commander

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 19 May 81 p 3

[Interview with Col Jozef Kierat, Commander of the Citizens Militia in Rzeszow, by Ryszard Beres: "Against the Rising Tide of the Hooligans and Criminals"]

[Text] A few days ago a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee turned particular attention to a statement by the voivodship prosecutor, who told about the recent rise in criminal behavior. There is a rise in asocial groups and disorderly elements which have already run into trouble with the law before. Why is this?

[Answer] I have to confirm the facts cited at the plenary meeting. During the 4 months of this year 14 percent more investigations have been initiated in the voivodship in connection with existing incidents of a criminal nature than during a similar period last year. There has been a particular increase, one of more than a third, in the number of murders and manslaughter cases. There are more instances of breaking and entering public premises, and the number of cases of breaking and entering registered against private facilities has increased by half. We are observing this particularly in such regions as Ropczyce, Strzyzow, Ranizow, Czudec, Czarna, Krane, Dzikowiec, Trzebownisko, and Tyczyn.

At the heart of many crimes are pathological phenomena occurring in our society, especially alcoholism, social parasitism, and neglect in upbringing and care leading to the demoralization of minors. For example, one-third of the established perpetrators of offences noted during the first quarter of this year committed the act while drunk.

Nonetheless, the rising wave of criminality is connected above all to the general relaxation of social discipline, the moral crisis in officialdom, and frequent voices questioning the correctness of a number of legal regulations. The front of social forces created over the years to strengthen public order, security, and discipline has disintegrated. Certain groups are taking advantage of this moment. For many people with asocial attitudes and anarchistic tendencies, the situation in the country is creating the hope of impunity and that of the freedom to do anything, even what is prohibited by law.

[Question] I do not think that these arguments exhaust the subject. They are not a full answer to the question raised earlier. After all, at present recidivists often commit the crimes, that is, people already known to the police. Therefore, it should be easier to monitor their actions. Meanwhile, in the letters to the editor we often find accusations that sometimes the police do not intervene, although there is every reason to do so, that people sense in this behavior some sort of indolence and leniency...

[Answer] And we receive such statements. Undoubtedly there is some correlation between the attitudes of our officers and the current state of public law and order, but I ask you to remember that after all we are not operating in a social vacuum but in a specific general social climate and atmosphere directly created around us, around the police groups. Social acceptance and approval is an unconditional condition to efficient and effective police work, and the support of our daily service is the good feeling and favorable climate of public opinion.

[Question] Commander, please show me a country whose citizens are burning with love for the forces of law and order...

[Answer] That is not what I had in mind. A driver or pedestrian violating a traffic regulation, a concierge interrogated by a policeman for failure to keep things tidy, anybody who has come into conflict with the law and in this connection has an active contact with a policeman, even if he is involved in such situations as a witness, usually takes it in a negative way. He often treats this as interference in the realm of his personal civic rights, legally justifiable intervention but one which in the subjective feelings of the individual is tedious and painful, at least psychologically. It is clear, that the relation to our apparatus depends to a great extent on the social consciousness of the individual people, of the personal culture of citizens.

[Question] And let us add right away, on the culture of the employees of the police too, on the way citizens are treated.

[Answer] Of course, and I would like to come back to that in a moment. Talking about that social support, good will and friendly attitude which are so essential in our work, I must say that particularly during the past few months we are coming into contact with the conscious attempts by certain groups and forces to discredit and oppose the forces of law and order which operate for the benefit of the society as a whole.

An example of the general crisis in the authority of the leadership is the large number of critical evaluations also with regard to the actions of the Citizens Militia [police] and the security service. We listen carefully to these opinions, with a thought to the future. We also apply self-criticism in making a thorough analysis of our work and give attention to the need to improve it, but we make a clear distinction between what is criticism, however severe and demanding, and what is a frontal political attack on the body of the internal affairs ministry, an attack launched by the forces inimical to socialism. In addition we note what in the current climate of open discussion is an attempt to by criminal and asocial forces to make a play against police bodies and our functionaries for repression incurred earlier.

If there is an increase in the attacks, the slander, and the lying gossip which interferes in our apparatus, it is understandable that this cannot fail to have an influence on the quality and results of our work. Policemen operate under continual internal pressure, psychological and nervous pressure, because by no means sporadic are the instances of failure to respect the statutory rights of police employees, of stirring up provocations which serve as frustrations when the police intervene to handle people disturbing the peace and public order. Such behavior on the part of the criminal-hooligan elements serve people who inspire the attacks on bodies of public order. The events in Otwock could serve as an example.

[Question] On the other hand, we must not silence either the actual instances where policemen have exceeded their authority or even acted contrary to the regulations.

[Answer] We have absolutely no intention of keeping that quiet, especially since we do not want to tolerate instances of that type. This is what we have always tried to do. Not even that internal tension can justify premature, hasty intervention, excessive use of force, and so on.

If in connection with official duties a deed of a criminal nature is committed, the person is accountable in court in keeping with the same law which binds everyone alike. If an offense is found to have been committed against the regulations of law and order or against the principles of conduct defined in the service regulations, then the person awaits a disciplinary penalty, ranging from reduction in grade or demotion to and including termination with the police bodies.

[Question] That sounds fierce. But in practice?

[Answer] Well, we need to give some concrete examples. There was a lot of talk around Zolynia over the tragic auto accident caused by a drunken driver in which two persons died and another was seriously injured. NOWINY after all wrote up the incident. The perpetrator was a policeman. He was immediately dismissed from our ranks, and the court sentenced him to 6 years in prison and revoked his driver's license for 10 years. Another policeman, who stole property from the RSP [handicraft cooperative] this March in Chmielnik together with his father-in-law, also underwent disciplinary severance from the Citizens Militia. In this case the prosecutor has already sent the indictment to the court.

[Question] Each instance where the law is violated must awaken public disapproval. When a policeman does these things, the act takes on a special social dimension. Did the system of recruiting candidates for police work perhaps let in people by chance?

[Answer] Nothing of the sort. For example, the person has to have a blameless moral reputation, at least a secondary education, adequate health, and meet very difficult psychological tests, but all this cannot exclude the fact that within the ranks of our service there enter people with certain habits and customs shaped within the family and social group, certain human failings and defects. That is why it sometimes happens that some employees do not make it. And although they bear the consequences, such individual reproachful behavior have a great impact on the reputation of the whole police force.

In order to show just how high the criteria and requirements are for candidates -- again here there are not too many -- let me add that even during the initial talks and tests prior to undertaking this responsible, difficult service, nearly half the applicants withdraw.

[Question] And even the prospects of salaries which are not at all bad do not encourage them?

[Answer] If a person actually believes only the gossip put out here and there about the exceptional privileged salaries of police and security employees and their families, social benefits, allowances, and so on, then, taking into account the specific details, the burdensomeness, and the danger of this profession, clearly he will be disappointed. I can name a lot of vocations where the pay is far higher. To be more exact, the mean pay of a policeman even in the gmina station is about 5,500 zlotys. It is not surprising that in many units of the voivodship we have vacant slots, which by no means promotes the maintenance of law and order.

There are legends about the wonderful provisions of the cafeterias and buffets run by Konsumy. These typical employee facilities, which are like those in every large plant and institution, serve not only the police

and their families but also people employed in various other institutions, and they are in the best position to say what is served in the police cafeteria.

We also have principles for calculating family benefits which are different from those for civilians. Families of policemen with many children receive preferential treatment, because their wives never have jobs. These differences run from a few dozen zlotys to a few hundred. For police families often transferred from place to place, this is sort of compensation for the increased expenses of running a household.

Since I am talking about these "privileges," let me say a few words about housing, because many myths have grown up around this subject. The truth is this: more than 300 police functionaries in Rzeszow Voivodship have no housing consistent with the standards of the housing law. Of the total number employed in station houses, that is, in the most difficult, outlying positions, 60 percent commute from other towns and villages, because there are no free housing spots in the villages they serve. This not only makes life very much more difficult for the policemen, but also complicates the organization of work and reduces the operating effectiveness of the police bodies.

[Question] After the stormy mass discussions, dangerous tensions and conflicts, the yearning for peace and order, for mutual trust, is beginning to weigh ever more heavily...

[Answer] People are coming more and more to realize the obvious truth that the way out of the present crisis is not merely a question of having enough provisions but also of having a maximum of peace and quiet to an equal extent. No official can guarantee the society peace and quiet. Social peace and quiet is not a value which can be split up, and up until now nobody has found a way to regiment it.

For this reason the whole society must protect these values, and all conscious, creative forces in society should support the specialized state bodies which stand on guard to protect these values.

It is with these suppositions that we come out and appeal to all the forces of reason to cooperate with us. Alongside our tried and true allies, members of the ORMO, we are calling on the self-government of residents, individual social prevention committees in the neighborhoods and villages, and on the economic administration for help. We are counting that we can also expand our fruitful cooperation with the largest trade union organization, NSZZ Solidarnosc. In the long range we want to work out concepts and forms of cooperation with the rural self-government and the trade unions of private farmers.

To us it is obvious that concern for the living conditions of working people also includes concern for their safety, and for public peace and order. This is a broad area in which we can cooperate fruitfully.

I am convinced that the current temporary worsening of the level of safety and public order in our voivodship, a subject of our incessant concern and worry, will also evoke certain reflections and active attitudes in the defense of adhering to legal standards and principles of living together in society within the broad ranks of working people in Rzeszow Voivodship.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Police Needed in Present Situation

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 27 May 81 p 5

[Article by Piotr Goszczynski: "They Do Not Have to Be Loved, They Are Necessary"]

> [Text] The saying about the person who became wise after suffering injury obviously will never cease to be timely. We are again witnesses to events, not only incidental ones but also those which signal the dissolution of balance between obstinacy and reason. We are again witnesses to events which speak eloquently, unfortunately, about the fact that we are still unable to draw conclusions from events and predict their consequences.

This introduction applies to a subject concerning the police which has recently become fashionable. It may be that in the past policemen here and there bent the proverbial stick, and they added on the real one made out of rubber to the load of some other, innocent person. This was a time which we do not ever want to have again. It was a ti which must pass to the past forever. We simply have a different notion today and tomorrow. What sort? First of all, as people full of respect for the laws and rights applicable on both sides, both the side of authority in uniform equipped with gas and nightstick and that of the citizen. After all, we all demand democracy.

A person in a police uniform or in civilian clothes with the proper identification in his pocket should know that it is this way just as it is for all other Polish citizens, that the law is equal for them, that they do not stand a single millimeter higher than the others or above the regulations in effect in our country. The uniform and weapon which they receive from the society should be an expression of the trust of fellow citizens, a symbol of their acceptance into public service, in defense of the public and of law and order.

For several months democracy has not been an abstract concept but a fact which the nation called for. It is a constant element of our new

regenerated life, accepted by the government and all the bodies of authority. Hence, the breaking down of law and order in the name of this democracy must be severely punished, while all legal norms must be adhered to, in order for our life to really be based on healthy attitudes. But this is not a one-way street. This means not just by the functionaries of the Citizens Militia (MO) and the security forces, because democracy binds absolutely everyone. The word is also the contradiction of the word "anarchy." But there are people in this country who think that if there is democracy, it is just for them.

Today there are people anxious to hide behind the shield of democracy: the gigolo and the prostitute and the cutthroat grabbing the handbag from a woman walking down the street and the drunk demolishing the facilities in a restaurant. When they are stopped by a policeman, they do not admit that they committed this or that offense or crime. They will bellow about democracy, that this "scum" stops peaceful Polish citizens who have political views different from theirs. And the fact that there has been long, effective work to make fun of the police and lower its moral authority by telling jokes, and through signs and songs, a certain proportion of the society ill-disposed to the navy and gray uniform immediately becomes to the defense of the whore, the gigolo, and thief, and the drunk, hampering or sometimes, by their attitude, thwarting the police's intervention.

Let us after all not be naive. The political adversaries of socialism, of our system, of all sorts of soothing balms, the people in KPN and KOR, are interested in the moral disintegration of our forces of law and order, because when things are in ferment it is easier to achieve their political goals, which have nothing in common with patriotism or concern for the country.

The healthy majority of our society will never agree to such a concept of democracy. We want to live, work, and take our rest under peaceful conditions. We want to go to work and come back from it in a sense of full safety and security. We do not want our recreation to be disturbed by turbulence and the scum of society. We have that social fringe, a not so small number of people, who would never tire their hands with hard work. But today they are all calling for full liberty, which to them means a parasitic way of life and full impunity.

And more. In more and more areas of the country there are rowdy excesses. The police and security forces have had mud thrown at them. In Otwock some people came ne conviction that they could set fire to public buildings. In the hearts of many policemen there has been created the sense of danger and helplessness. Things have gotten to the point where sometimes policemen do not intervene even in cases of extreme danger to public order. Can we be surprised? In the future will we have the moral right to demand that they take care of us, our children, and our property?

Democracy. In its broader definition this word also means law and order. And there will not be any democracy where turbulence and the scum of society feel they have impunity. Things will come to ordinary anarchy. The sense of security will not only be in danger but will be completely eliminated from our life. We will not have it either on the street or on streetcars or on the bus, in the park or in our own apartment. The brass knuckles and the pocket-knife, the razor, the knife, and vulgar talk will rule. Right off I can tell you that I do not want that sort of democracy. I will not take part in it. Neither I nor millions of Poles are for that sort of democracy.

One can get through a year or 2, even 3, in lines in front of stores, but one cannot live through that many years in constant fear for one's life and the lives of those close to him.

The drunk and the bum start things in restaurants. They are menacing and use vulgar talk. The police come. Helpless, they go away, because the crowd comes to the defense of the bum, because the crowd does not seem to like the police; and because it does not like the police, it puts up with excesses and defends the bum. We should ask the question: Of whom is that crowd made up, the crowd that accepts the rows and the riff-raff, as well as the vulgar talk? Surely not the workers or anyone who has built the country and is building it now.

We are living in difficult and complicated times, but we need one thing, like air and water -- peace! I say again, we can and must require of the police complete principles of adhering to law and order, but we must also give police functionaries our full moral support in the struggle to maintain law and order. Without that public support, I repeat once again, we in turn will not have the moral right to demand that the police see to it that we pass our days and nights in peace. Let us therefore vote on our own, because such an election depends only on us, and let us decide whether we will give the police the possibility of intervening in our defense or whether we will let a band of do-nothings terrorize us. There is no other alternative.

I have done a lot of travelling. I have been almost all over the world. I have seen the French police in action, and also the police in the FRG, England, and Sweden. The society is not sympathetic to hooligans in any of those countries, and this is because people living in those countries simply want to live in peace. The police does not coddle bandits. Gas and the nightstick are not weapons used against decent people. Both the police and the society in those countries remember this.

Let us look at the matter from the other side. The roots of terrorism always and everywhere are based on anarchy, and on a sense of impunity on the part of certain elements. This disease, up until now, has fortunately passed us by, but nobody knows when anarchy will grow in terrorism or at what stage. Hence, let us be on the lookout so that our many disappointments and problems are not expanded by this one, which is

so difficult to uproot, as we can see most clearly from the example of the United States, Italy, and Turkey. At the moment we have a not-so-small number of hoodlums. Let us be careful that mischief does not grow into those acts which take people's desire to live away from them or keep them awake nights. And this depends only on us, on society. Just a few dozen or even a dozen and some unpunished incidents in our streets and stadiums, and the sense of impunity like a plague will take in more and more of the social fringe. By then it will be too late for such reflections and deliberations as those we have entertained above.

A democratic state must not be a police state, but in this imperfect world up until now there has never been a country without any police, because although you do not have to love the police, you have to have them, in order to live in peace.

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IMPACT OF POZNAN RADIO DISCUSSION CLUB REVIEWED

Warsaw ANTENA in Polish No 15 7 Jun 81 p 8

[Article by Grazyna Marek]

[Text] "One wonders who will want to gather in a group to listen to a radio program, when the weather is so pretty,"--such were the doubts that Alicja Maciejowska had when she was invited to the Poznan "Grunwald" Club. These reservations, however, were quickly dispelled by the sight of a hall filled to overflowing--about 80 people for 50 seats!

First, a short explanation. In the fall of last year a Radio Discussion Club was established in Poznan. The local radio station furnished the equipment for reproducing programs, and a housing cooperative had the place and a little money. The required documents were signed, and in November public hearings, connected with discussion, of radio programs were begun. Alicja Maciejowska, of Polish Radio Program III with her coverage of the Olsztyn "Solidarity" conflict with the former first secretary of the Olsztyn province, was invited to the sixth meeting. Parenthetically, this material, not issued before this time, was given in issue No. 6 of ANTENA /formerly, RTV/, which was devoted to radio coverage.

The Olsztyn conflict itself is already known sufficiently from press reports, and, more precisely, from the discussions around the memorable television coverage done by Tadeusz Samitowski--thus this is not the place for details. Moreover, the discussion in the "Grunwald" Radio Club did not touch on the details. The historical and documentary value of that kind of material was talked about, and its objectivity was emphasized. Also taken up was the matter of newspaper reporters' ethics, which all too often are not observed by television reporters...

The discussion in the Poznan Radio Club was long and lively. Here is what its participants told us after it was over:

Anna Dybczynska: "I learn about the meetings from announcements in the local press. I come to them not only to listen to concrete coverage. Often much more interesting are the discussions afterwards which introduce many new elements to the matter presented on tape. Impressions of today's discussion? The answer is inherent in the title of the coverage--'Small house, big matter.'"

"Why do I come here? That's obvious, isn't it?" says Bogumil Deckert. "I simply feel to an extraordinary degree insufficiently informed. The news given by the radio, the press, and television are still to a considerable degree fragmentary, tendentious, sometimes simply untrue. Therefore I take advantage of each opportunity when our reality is presented in an objective manner. And the merit of these meetings--this is the fifth time I've been here--is the media's straightforwardness in revealing the different phenomena in our country. Let the fact that many people borrow from me tapes of these meetings (I record the programs and discussions on cassettes) testify as to how great is the need for this type of material. In the course of our conversations we continually ask ourselves the same question: why do we find out about everything that is essential from foreign broadcasting stations or at meetings such as this one today?"

But is this the assumption of the Poznan Radio Club? Is it only a matter of informing the listeners, of presenting to them materials from shelves? It turns out that this was not the intention of the creators of the club. "This is a child who directed his own education himself," affirmed the club's founder, Kazimierz Pierzchlewicz, a reporter from the Poznan broadcasting station.

When the club began its activity half a year ago, it was established that at the monthly meetings social material first, and then material of literary value, would be presented. It also was hoped that the discussion would revolve around the aesthetics of radio. Wanting to create something of a second current of the local broadcasting station's activity, they thought about the didactic side of that type of meeting--they wanted to teach people how to listen to the radio. But life determined the general outline of the club. And so, when at the first meeting Krystyna Melion's coverage "Membership Card" as well as Jerzy Mankowski's radio play "Ballad of a Blind Watchmaker" were presented, the discussion concentrated on the first material (it concerned the position of a party member in the face of the transition taking place recently). At the second meeting, therefore, only Barbara Miczko and Agata Lawniczak's coverage "Where Seeds Fall Healthy," which concerned the Poznan events of 1956, was prepared. The success was unexpected--over 200 people came to the meeting, and the discussion lasted into the late hours of the night. Parenthetically, the recordings of this discussion served the Poznan women reporters for still another radio report. At successive meetings, therefore, archive tapes of the Poznan trials, among others, were heard, reports presenting the events in Bydgoszcz were given, and the relation of television to these events was considered.

Will the activity of the Poznan club remain forever under the influence of current events? The organizers hope that they will be able to return to the original assumptions of their club, when the publishers become more credible. They also hope--as do the editors of ANTENA--that other radio centers will follow their example, because this good example is worth copying.

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July 24, 1981